

Champ turns
chump, Trump
in slump

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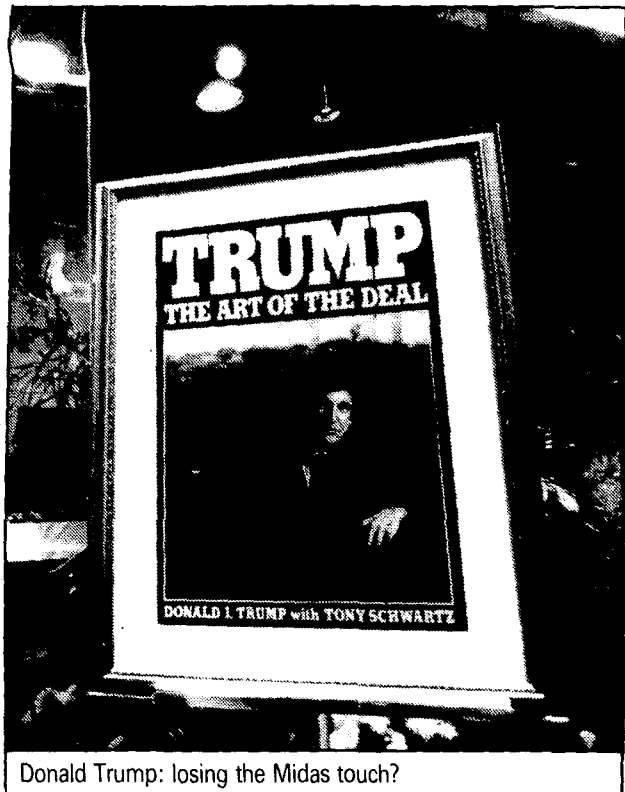
TRUE CONCESSIONS

In El Salvador, prospects for
a negotiated settlement may be
closer than they seem.

Frank Smyth reports



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Donald Trump: losing the Midas touch?

Keep your eyes on the Trump card

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

For Donald Trump-watchers these days—and who among us isn't?—the important, epoch-defining question may not be whether Ivana Trump takes him to the cleaners in her divorce settlement but whether his creditors beat her to it.

Although the news hasn't yet reached the tabloids, the man with the Midas touch is running into financial turbulence over and above the millions being demanded by his wife. On Wall Street his bonds are tumbling, while, in Atlantic City he's about to open a huge new casino, the Trump Taj Mahal, at a time when gambling receipts are flat. In midtown Manhattan there are signs that the Trump-owned Plaza Hotel may be turning into a white elephant, while other overpriced Trump properties may

be in trouble for similar reasons.

James Grant, a respected Wall Street financial analyst and longtime Trumpologist, has staked out the Trump Parc condominium around the corner from the Plaza. He reports that fewer than 10 percent of the windows are lit on any given evening. It could be that the owners are rich Asians and Europeans who are out of town nine nights out of 10, as the Trump organization insists. Or, as Manhattan real estate crumbles, it could simply be that the condos are unsold.

Mum's the word: No one knows, of course, except Trump himself. At the very least, though, the rough weather suggests that *The Art of the Deal*, his celebrated (and self-celebrating) bestseller, may need an update on the perils of over-borrowing. Financial leverage—i.e., using other people's money—is what propelled Trump into the economic ionosphere back when he was just a mildly rich kid from the boroughs. In the early '90s, leverage—this time in the form of excessive debt—could be what yanks him down to Earth faster than you can say "Drexel Burnham."

America's premier bad-boy developer is still the same brash, rambunctious, overgrown adolescent he always was. Only instead of inspiring confidence on Wall Street, he now makes lenders nervous. With others busily cutting back, Trump's free-spending ways mark him as a man out of joint. He's in imminent danger of tripping over his own ego and tumbling headfirst down the stairway of history.

At least we can all hope. Politically, just as Trump symbolized the rise of the American private sector, he could also symbolize its comeuppance. In 1986, he scored a propaganda coup for right-wing government-bashers by taking over renovation of the Wollman skating rink in Central Park from the city and completing the project under budget and within schedule.

In 1987, he told *People* magazine that he put his name on buildings not because his ego demanded it but because "if somebody tells you you'll do \$100 million dollars more business because you call a building Trump Parc than if you call it Tower on the Park or some other name, you'd have to be a moron not to do it." Not long after, he took a half-joking leap at the presidency, jetting off to New Hampshire to tell cheering audiences that the U.S. Navy should charge the Saudis and the Japanese for protecting oil tankers in the Persian Gulf.

Following the junk-bond disaster, the savings and loan debacle, the real-estate cave-in and who-knows-what-else may be waiting in the wings, this kind of private-sector chest-thumping is a thing of the past, as even Donald Trump is beginning to realize.

Only the best will do: Meanwhile, examples of the no-longer-so-deft Trump touch abound. On acquiring the Plaza in 1988, for instance, he and Ivana Trump (whom he placed in charge of day-to-day operations) set about taking it from the class of world-famous luxury hotels and elevating it into something truly nonpareil.

No expense was spared. Suites were decked with Italian silk tableclothes and 19th-century Biedermeier chests, valued at \$40,000 apiece, while ordinary rooms were outfitted with pricey Italian Frette linens. The results, however, were less than economical by newly straitened Wall Street standards. *Crain's New York Business*, a local weekly, calculated recently that the Plaza will have to boost its room rates by an average of \$100 over last year—to \$350 a night—to turn a profit. This would come at a time when other luxury hotels, due to stagnant tourism and the recessionary local economy, are lowering theirs. A few years ago, Trump might have been able to pull it off. Now it seems doubtful.

Then there's the Trump Taj Mahal, the vast new casino he's opening in Atlantic City in April. In proper Trump fashion, it will be lavish and grand, complete with nine seven-foot carved elephants, \$20 million worth of ersatz Indian architectural ornamentation, 3,000 slot machines and twice as much floor space as any other gambling emporium in town.

But while local town boosters are excited, creditors are uneasy. One reason is that casino revenues in New Jersey's Las-Vegas-by-the-sea rose just 2.6 percent last year, which, when inflation is taken into account, actually translates into a small decline. Another reason is that a sister casino, the Trump Castle casino, will be among the Taj

Mahal's 11 competitors. Whatever bite the Taj Mahal manages to take out of the shrinking pie that is Atlantic City, it will almost certainly be at the expense of its corporate sibling.

This is a business strategy guaranteed to appeal to neither casino's creditors, which is why one Wall Street bond house, Salomon Brothers, advised its clients to dump Trump Castle bonds in January, while Taj Mahal bonds are selling at less than 75 percent of face value. The golden boy, it turns out, is tarnishing.

James Grant, whose *Grant's Interest Rate Observer* is one of the most widely followed newsletters on Wall Street, suggests that similar problems may soon plague other Trump properties. For instance, despite Manhattan's pressing apartment glut ("The Great Real-Estate Scare of 1990" is what *New York* magazine recently called it), Trump is steaming full speed ahead with construction of a 55-story apartment tower on Manhattan's Upper East Side, scheduled to open next year.

The Trump name may have cachet, but the question remains as to whether rich Japanese businessmen will shell out \$350,000 for a studio when prices at the toniest Park Avenue addresses are dropping like stones. Grant reports that Trump is also trying to sell the Trump Princess, the 282-foot yacht he purchased in 1987 from the sultan of Brunei for \$30 million and then spent \$10 million refitting.

The asking price is \$115 million. In the credulous '80s, Trump might have gotten away with nearly a threefold increase within less than a three-year period, but in the skeptical '90s it looks unlikely.

In fact, spinning off one Trump princess might be very much like spinning off another. Just as the yacht is likely to bring in less than Trump might have hoped, the di-

INSIDE STORY

vorce—provided Ivana Trump's lawyers can bust the limits of the couple's \$25 million post-nuptial agreement—may wind up costing him more. In either instance, the damage to the bottom line is likely to be more serious than anticipated. If it's not going too far out on a speculative limb to say so, marital strains at this point may reflect underlying financial strains, which is why Trump's empire may be coming apart in more ways than one.

Or so preliminary indications suggest. Anyone wanna buy a luxury condo, cheap?

Double take

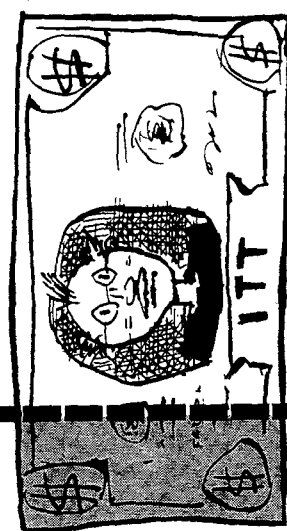
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\$150,000.

\$23,903.81

578 responses

29 new sustainers

Creeping upward

Last week 183 subscribers contributed another \$8,151 to our \$150,000 fund appeal, bringing our total receipts, so far, to \$23,903. In addition, 15 people agreed to become regular sustainers, for a total of 29 new sustainers. The pace is still too slow, so if you plan to send us a contribution, please do so now.

By David Moberg

Drexel junk-bond downfall may be a warning tremor

THE COLLAPSE OF DREXEL BURNHAM LAMBERT, king of junk-bond finance, probably provoked as many cheers as tears. But the firm's downfall just before Valentine's Day, like its rise to wealth and power on the corporate takeover wave it financed, may send new ripples through the economy.

Junk-bond takeovers symbolized the U.S. economy of the '80s: huge fortunes quickly made from questionable deals that shuffled assets while undermining a firm's investment and research, as well as its cultivation of human resources needed for long-term growth. But Drexel's fall does not mean that the economic forces underlying its rise have radically changed.

From a charitable perspective, the \$200 billion junk-bond market represented an initially plausible idea that, like most get-rich-quick finance schemes, quickly ran wildly out of control. Some, however, considered it a scam from start to finish. A few issues may have succeeded, but in the end the scheme cost the nation dearly.

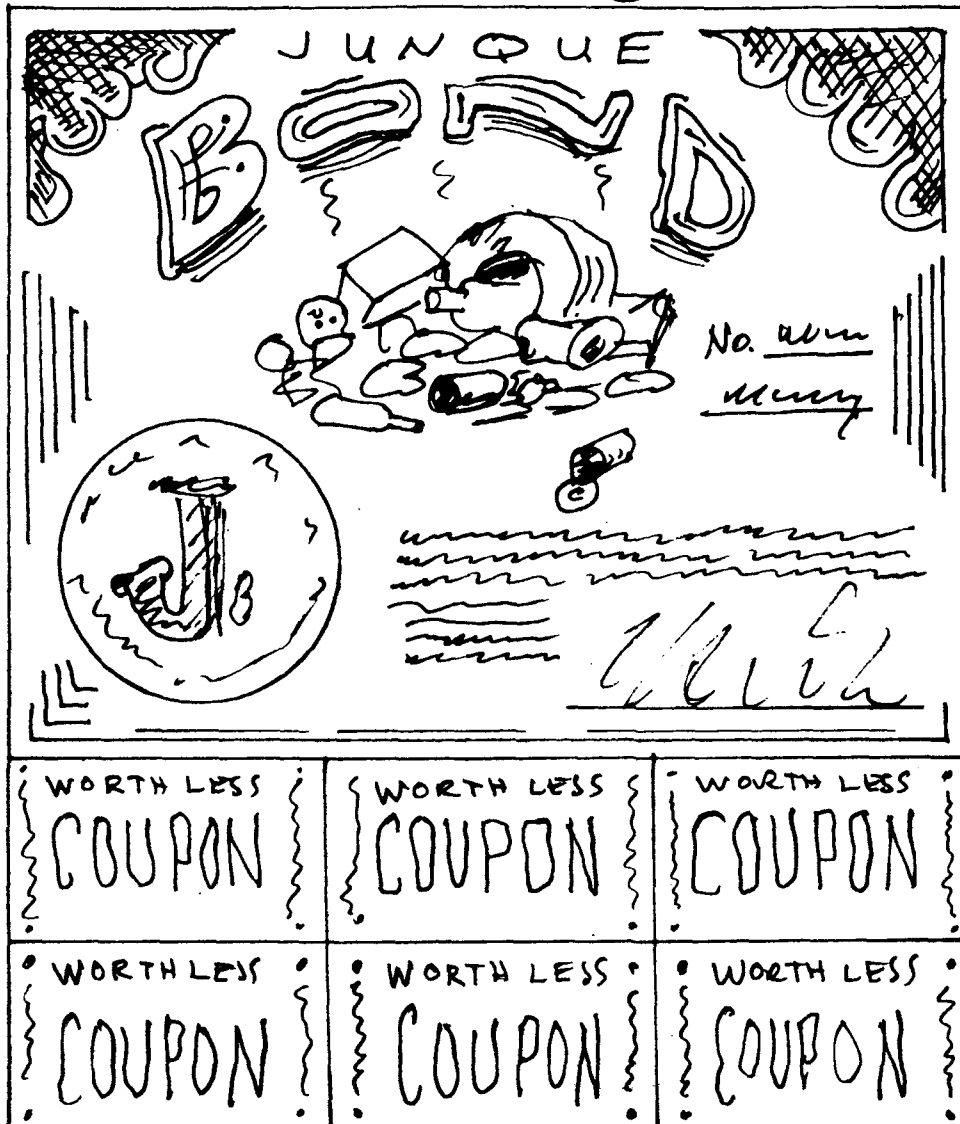
Junk bonds are high-interest, high-risk loans from investors hoping for bigger-than-average returns. The risk is that at some point the companies may not be able to pay the interest or repay the loan—in other words, that they will default on their debt. Consequently, bond-rating firms do not rate them as "investment-grade." The high interest reflects a premium paid to investors for taking the extra risk. Many small or new companies may necessarily resort to such debt because they do not have the size or track record to rate as investment-grade.

Michael Milken, the man who brought Drexel into the big time and then out of existence, argued that junk issues weren't as risky as most people thought; he claimed investors typically undervalued them. If an investor bought a diversified selection of junk bonds that were well-chosen—by Milken—he could more than offset the risk and make a return of 15 percent or more instead of the nine or 10 percent he could make on a top-rated bond.

Of greed and finance: Beyond boundless greed, other economic influences spurred the rise of junk bonds, among them high interest rates, declining profits and deregulation of financial markets.

In the early '80s, after the U.S. Federal Reserve tightened credit to dampen inflation, real interest rates rose to several times their historic rates and remained high throughout the decade. That meant the cost of borrowing capital exceeded the capital's declining net return, says Brookings Institution economist Margaret Mendenhall Blair. Companies often found themselves with more cash from their lucrative old investments than they could profitably invest in expansion or new ventures in the absence of rapid growth or technological advance, compared with returns from buying Treasury bonds or other debt, Blair argues.

Normally, high interest rates would discourage companies from borrowing money. But because interest payments are tax-deductible, Blair argues, the firms that choose to "disinvest"—shift wealth back to their stockholders—may favor debt. Businesses that hope to invest and grow, on the other hand, would likely favor equity financing or stocks.



During the '80s, U.S. corporations withdrew about \$600 million in equity and issued about \$1 trillion in debt. The mechanisms varied: voluntary restructurings, management leveraged buyouts (LBOs) and takeovers. Although some new, growing businesses assumed huge new high-interest debt by issuing junk bonds—MCI and McCaw Telecommunications are the two most-cited junk-bond successes—Blair found that LBOs were favored by mature, slow-growth industries.

Now and later: One could argue that truly innovative management could develop products, manufacturing techniques or even organizational improvements to lower costs, improve quality or expand markets in order to raise profits. But U.S. firms were under tremendous pressure to "maximize present shareholder value"—that is, enrich stockholders now and forget the future.

In the winter 1989-90 *Brookings Review*, Shinichi Yamamoto, a scholar from the Japan Economic Research Center, concluded that the Japanese trade lead grew rapidly since the early '70s because U.S. manufacturers raised operating profits and increased dividends even when profits declined. By contrast, he says, Japanese manufacturers concentrate on long-term growth and "cut their operating profits, emphasizing increased sales at the cost of some loss in profits per unit."

Capital markets in the U.S., however, emphasize the short run. Even though U.S. gross savings declined only slightly in the '80s, net investment, especially in manufacturing, has been "decidedly weak," according to a study last fall by two New York Federal Reserve

Bank economists. The money pumped out of businesses by the debt-driven restructuring drove up stock-market prices and contributed to the huge growth in wealth, income and conspicuous consumption for the upper 5 percent of the population, but it did not result in much constructive new investment.

The '80s economy: huge fortunes quickly made from questionable deals that merely shuffled assets.

Deregulation and changes in the financial markets contributed to the destructive effects of junk bonds. As blue-chip corporations relied more on their own debt issues, banks—which cannot invest in equities—began investing in riskier, equity-like junk bonds. This trend now worries the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation because LBOs make up more than half the equity capital of the 10 biggest multinational banks.

Some deregulated savings and loans institutions, which turned to chancy oil and real-estate deals, also bought junk bonds. And although the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) regulates brokerage firms, it does not regulate the highflying parent-company subsidiaries that issued and invested heavily in junk bonds. But mutual funds and pension funds, which should have been more patient investors, were the biggest junk-bond buyers, together holding 60 percent of all junk bonds.

From early on there have been warnings that the junk-bond empire was a house of cards. Massachusetts Institute of Technology finance professor Paul Asquith studied junk-bond financed companies over the period 1978-87 and found that instead of the 2 percent per year default rate Drexel claimed, one-third to one-half would default within eight years.

Numerous studies have shown that historically the vast majority of mergers fail, that shareholders in the acquiring firms typically lose in the months to years after a takeover and that there are few if any efficiency gains.

By firing workers, slashing pay, selling off assets and cutting investment and research, some companies can muster short-term pay-offs. But the debt-laden companies are far more vulnerable in the event of a recession.

How did Milken and Drexel get away with selling their junk-bond mania, despite the evidence against its continued success? Lawyer and economist Benjamin J. Stein argues in the February 19 issue of the financial weekly *Barron's* that "Drexel/Milkenism was largely a vast scam based upon myths about bond-valuing skills and bond value, kept going by a vast Ponzi [a swindle in which earlier investors are paid off by later investors, like a chain letter] controlling markets, prices, reputation and data about defaults."

According to Stein and others, Milken created an inner circle of favored investors, who would bid up junk bonds and engage in a number of questionable transactions—such as borrowing more on one junk-bond issue than needed in order to use part of the money to buy the next junk issue. By clever manipulation, exuberant salesmanship and a promise that Drexel and its allies would always be ready to act as a market of last resort, Milken lured investors.

And the billions he made for himself and Drexel put pressure on everyone else to join the game, worsening the pressures for short-term stockholder gain.

The "scam" began to come apart when Drexel employee Dennis Levine admitted to insider trading and then fingered Ivan Boesky, who in turn set up Milken for 98 counts of securities fraud. Drexel pled guilty to charges, paid \$650 million in fines and, under government pressure, ousted Milken last January.

But the empire fell apart as Drexel failed to back up junk bonds, and its allies began to founder. As part of the federal savings and loan bailout, the troubled financial institutions were directed to reduce junk-bond holdings. As the junk-bond market plummeted, Drexel's value—backed up mainly by the increasingly worthless securities it had issued—fell as well. Having raided the capital of its other subsidiaries, exhausted its ability to borrow and failed to find investors, Drexel threw in the towel.

There was no panic when Drexel went under, but the effects of the junk-bond takeover craze will linger with the burden of heavy debt and the internal wreckage of many companies that may default or simply be unprepared for the future. The underlying problems of high interest rates, low investment and the short-term emphasis on stockholder wealth will persist. Takeovers will slow down, but as the ripple effects of default spread, many observers believe interest rates will increase, raising the specter of an economic bust at the end of a junky boom. □

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By Joel Bleifuss

Steal of the decade

In a series of investigative reports published this month, the *Houston Post's* Pete Brewton details allegations that CIA and Mafia figures were involved in the failure of 22 savings and loans, the bailout of which will cost U.S. taxpayers an estimated \$13.1 billion. Brewton reports that "an eight-month investigation into the role of fraud in savings and loan failures has found numerous links between organized crime figures and CIA operatives, including some involved in gun running, drug smuggling, money laundering and covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras." (See "In Short," February 21.)

The steal and the deal: One of Brewton's sources is the former CIA operative Richard Brenneke, a Portland, Ore., arms dealer. In the fall of 1988 Brenneke told *In These Times* about a series of October 1980 meetings in Paris during which Reagan-Bush campaign officials, representatives of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and assorted arms dealers negotiated the final details of an agreement that would delay the release of the 52 American hostages held in Iran until after the U.S. election and thereby ensure a Reagan victory. (See "Deal of the Decade," *In These Times*, Oct. 12, 1988 and "Did Reagan Steal the 1980 Election?" *In These Times*, June 24, 1987.) For their part of the deal, the campaign's representatives would give Iran \$40 million and, in defiance of a U.S. arms embargo, arrange for the country to immediately purchase badly needed weapons and spare parts. In a 1988 interview with *In These Times*, Brenneke discussed those October 1980 meetings, saying, "The purpose of the meetings was to negotiate, not only for the release of the hostages, but also to discuss... how we would go about satisfying everybody involved." In a September 1988 deposition sworn before a federal judge in Denver, Brenneke added, "There has been a systematically developed program by which money was raised for the contras, using a variety of schemes involving banks and then involving the disposition of those funds. In many cases I think the people involved—the ones that I knew of—were a very specialized group of people. They played on two, I think, very significant factors. One was a certain amount of patriotism that the banker would demonstrate by going along with whatever the current scheme was—and there were a number of schemes used. And secondly, that the banker would enrich himself by doing so—and he would do so at the expense of an insurance company, not at the expense of the depositors." Brenneke gave this deposition to support the case of his "close friend" Heinrich Rupp, a pilot who had recently been convicted of bank fraud and maintained that he was working for the CIA at the time. Rupp also claimed that on the night of Oct. 18, 1980, he flew four passengers, including former CIA director William Casey, who was then head of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign, from Washington to Paris. Brenneke said that Rupp, who had worked for the CIA since 1957, had previously flown planes for Air America, a CIA front company. Further, the *Post's* Brewton reports that "an ID card with Rupp's name and picture on it dated Nov. 1, 1975, shows Rupp to be a vice president and pilot for Global International Airlines out of Dallas." Sources close to Rupp have said that Global International Airlines was the same company as the now-bankrupt Kansas City-based Global International Airways.

A highflying Iranian: Iranian businessman Farhad Azima, a man whose family had ties to the shah, owned Global International Airways until it went bankrupt in 1983. At the time, Azima also was one of the owners of the Indian Springs State Bank of Kansas City, Kan., which failed in 1984. Michael Manning, a Kansas City lawyer who investigated the bank's failure for the U.S. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, told Brewton that the bankruptcy of Global "certainly did contribute to the failure of Indian Springs State Bank." Another contributor to the failure of Indian Springs was organized crime figure Mario Renda of Long Island, now serving time for racketeering and bank fraud. According to Brewton, Renda, a major player in the national savings and loan scandal, "brokered billions of dollars of deposits into savings and loans that later failed." Azima's bank was the first place the feds caught up with Renda, who has ties to the Gambino and Lucchese organized-crime families and to Adnan Khashoggi, the Saudi arms dealer and Iran-contras player. According to federal law-enforcement officials, the Internal Revenue Service asked the Justice Department's Organized Crime Strike Force to investigate Azima in connection with the failure of Indian Springs. The Jus-

Victory and a new contract for Pittston miners

After a 10-month strike, Pittston Company coal miners approved a new four-year contract last week by a 2-to-1 margin. Even the large dissenting vote can be read less as a rejection of the United Mine Workers (UMW) leadership than as an expression of how deeply the rank and file believed in the strike's goals.

At various times the union could have abandoned the strike for a weaker contract, said UMW associate general counsel Judy Scott, "but we always took the fork that put us farther out, and it worked out all right." Union members refused to cross picket lines and engaged in largely non-violent actions, from pickets and sit-ins on the road to occupation of a coal processing plant, that deeply cramped production. Widespread solidarity, especially from international union leaders, eventually forced Pittston to accept mediation and a settlement that represents, on balance, a major union victory.

The UMW maintained 100 percent health-care coverage, although workers will receive cash to cover the first \$1,000 in expenses, a formula the company believes will reduce its medical costs. Although Pittston had insisted on withdrawing from all industry pen-

sion and health funds, the union won continued contributions to the 1974 pension and benefit funds (a cap on Pittston payments may save the company money). Instead of making a standard payment for every hour worked, Pittston will now pay \$10 million into a 1950 fund that covers older retirees, roughly half the amount it would have paid under the old formula.

The fund trustees, who had earlier sued Pittston to enforce payment of the traditional contributions, must now decide if the contract compromise is acceptable to them. The union hopes a new national commission, which will be appointed by Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, will devise better financing for miners' pensions and health care, possibly an industrywide fee paid by union and non-union mines, much like current funding for black lung disease compensation.

Pittston miners won new protections against subcontracting and guarantees that laid-off Pittston UMW members would get four out of five new jobs in Pittston non-union mines and 19 out of 20 jobs in contract operations. This should greatly increase job security and hamper Pittston's efforts to shift production to new non-union subsidiaries.

In most regards the Pittston contract follows the 1988 industry settlement negotiated by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association,

from which Pittston had withdrawn that same year. For example, miners now typically making about \$16 an hour will receive \$1.20-an-hour wage increases over three years.

Some miners were upset with provisions that give Pittston new flexibility in scheduling rotating shifts or four-day, 40-hour work weeks. And some were angry that the company would not promise to rehire 13 of the 1,700 strikers because of alleged illegal strike activity, although those cases all go to arbitration and the company is barred from requesting discharge.

Initially the UMW had insisted that the \$64 million in fines levied by Judge Robert McGlothlin be dismissed before the contract vote, but the judge rejected the union's offer of 10,000 hours of community service. Now the union hopes the judge will be moved by the strike settlement to dismiss the fines, but if he doesn't, union lawyers are confident they can overturn them on appeal. As part of its settlement of National Labor Relations Board charges, the union had to extend to Virginia strict regulations of its future strike activity already imposed on three other states.

"It's been a long, hard, bitter struggle," said striker Darryl Sutherland, "but it's opened the eyes of the whole country about the labor movement and brought it to their attention that things can and will happen." —David Moberg

With Nation of Islam you can't always get what you want

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—When a spokesman for Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan gave a Valentine's Day speech at Yale Law School, the address delivered on only half of its promise—Jewish hater mongering.

It did not, however, deliver on its stated purpose—discussing NOI's success in ridding Washington, D.C., housing projects of drugs.

The speech, by Abdul Alim Muhammad, turned out to be a soul-searching occasion not because of what Muhammad said but because of what a lot of students said beforehand.

The week leading up to Muhammad's inflammatory address saw students wrestling with painful issues—and with each other. They knew about the controversies dogging other campuses where NOI or other black-nationalist speakers have appeared. Black students knew about the charges of supporting anti-Semitism by inviting certain speakers. Jewish students knew about the charges of focusing on the speakers' views on Jews at the expense of ignoring the genocide that afflicts drug-ravaged urban neighborhoods.

So leaders of the student groups supporting and protesting Muhammad's appearance took pains to praise each other's "good faith,"

while debating the wisdom of inviting the NOI leader.

"It's been very difficult. But people have agreed to disagree," said Jim Walker of Law and Liberation, the multiracial student group sponsoring the address.

All concerned agreed that Muhammad's NOI has done remarkable work expunging Washington's Mayfair Mansions of violent crack dealing. So Law and Liberation invited Muhammad as part of a three-day seminar on "Drug Wars." Organizers argued that NOI's controversial reputation has unfairly excluded it from participating in the otherwise bankrupt national debate over confronting drug abuse. Still, Law and Liberation's press release criticized NOI's "anti-Semitic, sexist and homophobic aspects."

"It's clear that he does offer very important suggestions and solutions to a real and urgent crisis," said Pam Harris of the Committee Against Bigotry, an all-white student group formed to protest Muhammad's history of anti-Jewish remarks. "They [NOI leaders] have to be part of the dialogue. We want them to be part of the dialogue, but not on these hateful terms," Harris said.

"Anti-Semitism is not a central tenet of the [NOI] ideology," responded Heidi Tinsman of Law and Liberation. "If the Ku Klux Klan were running amazing drug programs in Alabama, we wouldn't invite them here."

The arguments grew more impassioned on the law school's "Democ-

racy Wall," plastered with typed responses to other students' typed responses. Unlike various groups' official comments, some freelance comments recalled some of the less-respectful myths long dividing blacks and Jews—that *schwartzes* is not a derogatory term, for instance, and that Southern Jews supported civil rights only because blacks patronized their stores.

In general, though, the written comments revealed the personal anguish many students experienced.

A Jewish member of Law and Liberation, Daniel Ehrenberg, detailed the conflicting arguments that eventually led him to support inviting Muhammad while also confronting him on his anti-Semitism. He wrote about the Nazi Holocaust as well as the modern holocaust facing blacks and Hispanics in drug-ravaged neighborhoods. "I urge everyone to condemn the Nation of Islam's anti-Jewish statements," he wrote. "I also urge each of us to walk in, experience and listen to the pain, rage, blind anger, hopelessness and frustration within the oppressed black, Hispanic and underclass communities."

A black student, April Cherry, wrote of her frustration at how the debate has focused on Muhammad's anti-Semitism rather than his drug message. "This has been a clear exercise in power. And like every other exercise of power, I have lost," Cherry wrote, explaining that her concerns about black genocide have been relegated to the bottom of the debate.

The Black Law Students Association, meanwhile, noted that Yale Law School visits by former Deputy Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds and rejected U.S. Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork failed to provoke similar outcries. "We doubt whether anyone conducted a Nexis [computer] search to find objectionable statements by these and other speakers," the association wrote in an open letter. Both Law and Liberation and the Committee Against Bigotry extensively researched Muhammad's published statements on Jews.

After all the buildup, however, Muhammad's more than two-hour address and question-and-answer session proved an anticlimax. Muhammad challenged the students to recognize their historic role in racist oppression, in which the drug trade has played a central role. He specifically focused on Yale's involvement, from namesake Elihu Yale's work for the East India Company to George Bush's Skull & Bones secret-society spy network.

But rather than describing NOI anti-drug patrols or the work of his medical clinic, as promised, he pre-

sented the NOI version of history. It excluded women from important roles, and it indirectly criticized homosexuals. At one point he said he believes the controversial charge that "Jewish doctors inject black babies with AIDS" in South Africa because white doctors injected black men with syphilis years ago at Alabama's Tuskegee Institute.

He also defended criticizing Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry for "bowing down to Jews," and claimed that Farrakhan's visit to a UFO saved the lives of two "heroes," Panama's Manuel Noriega and Libya's Muammar Khadafy.

Law and Liberation member Richard Drury said he believes much of Muhammad's address was misinterpreted. "I think the speech shocked a lot of people at Yale and that much of the negative reaction is a result of people here not being used to hearing the founding fathers being criticized as racist slave owners, or hearing people like Eli Yale being criticized for trading in slaves and drugs," he said. "And they take this message as being anti-white when it's actually a criticism of history

that's been distorted."

Drury added that Muhammad actually did address NOI's war on drugs by presenting his critique of history. "People tend to blame the victims of drug problems," he said, "without realizing that the drug problem is an outgrowth of this history of oppression. And so Muhammad was really getting to the core of the [drug] problem."

The event contrasted dramatically with a New Haven address several years back by another visiting black leader, Rainbow Coalition founder Mel King, at Varick Church.

King, like Muhammad, invoked the history of white oppression of black people. He also enveloped his message in love, beginning by asking members of the racially mixed audience to hug those next to them. He tied the oppression of blacks to the oppression of women, Jews and gays.

Like Muhammad, King confronted audience members with uncomfortable truths. Unlike Muhammad, he left them feeling united to do something.

—Paul Bass

Violence in Kashmir heightens Indo-Pakistani tensions

The growing violence in the Kashmir region of northern India, which claimed at least 85 lives since fighting broke out in January, illustrates that of all the current nationalist disputes, the continuing conflict over who rules Kashmir appears most likely to explode into outright war.

The states of Jammu and Kashmir have been a flash point between Muslim Pakistan and Hindu-dominated India since both states were created by the partition of British colonial India in 1947. The conflict originated with the decision of then-"independent" Maharajah Hari Singh to accede to the Indian state his predominantly Muslim territory of Kashmir. The decision, made under intense pressure from New Delhi, led to the first Indo-Pakistani war in 1948. After India reneged on a promised plebiscite to let Kashmiris decide their own fate, a strong independence movement emerged.

The recent violence resulted from the December kidnapping of an Indian minister's daughter by Kashmiri nationalists. When the Indian army in late January began a house-to-house search for the kidnap victim in the Kashmiri capital of Srinagar, rioting erupted and left several dozen dead. Although the minister's daughter was eventually freed unharmed in exchange for the release of five imprisoned nationalists, the continued violence in the region and the whipping up of what one correspondent called a "virtual war hysteria" in Pakistan have left the situation tense. In an apparent attempt to calm tensions, the governor of Kashmir dissolved the state's legislature last week, possibly paving the way for elections later this year.

There are several factors that make any surge of violence in Kashmir particularly dangerous. The first is the territory's troubled history—two and a half of the three wars between India and Pakistan have been fought over Kashmir. The 1948 and 1965 Kashmiri conflicts were accompanied by the 1971 war of succession for East Pakistan—now Bangladesh—which involved armed hostilities in Kashmir.

The danger is heightened by the fact that both Pakistan and India are led by weak governments under strong pressure to stand tough on the disputed region. The People's Party of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan faces a hostile opposition ready to pounce on any sign of weakness. Bhutto must contend not only with the followers of the late dictator Mohammed Zia Ul-Haq but also with growing Islamic fundamentalism.

Likewise, the minority National Front government in India must contend with pressure on the right. Prime Minister V.P. Singh depends on the support of the militant Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party to maintain his governing coalition. Not only have the militant Hindus demanded that Singh concede nothing in Kashmir, they have further aggravated Muslim-Hindu relations by calling for the destruction of a mosque built on a Hindu holy place in the state of Uttar Pradesh.

Behind all this lurks the ousted but still powerful Congress Party of Rajiv Gandhi, ready to capitalize on any perceived blunder the National Front makes in Kashmir.

The third factor endangering the situation is the growing military capacity of both states. Pakistan has become a virtual sea of arms, thanks to its role as host to the U.S.-backed Afghan resistance movement.

With pretensions toward becom-

ing South Asia's superpower, India under Rajiv Gandhi embarked upon a massive military spending spree. Armed with a new ballistic-missile program and a fighting capacity that dwarfs that of its South Asian neighbors combined, India has not been afraid to flex its military muscle. Gandhi's India became involved in Sri Lanka's civil war, invaded the Maldives to oust a mercenary coup and closed transit points with Nepal in an attempt to force the landlocked country to sign a defense agreement. But what makes the military situation even more frightening is that India, like Pakistan, has an advanced nuclear program and is suspected of having a small arsenal of nuclear weapons.

The sad fact, however, is that, while both sides trade threats and strike poses, little is being done to address the problems with Kashmir. Even before the recent outbreak of violence, Kashmir seemed more like an occupied territory than a state of India. Heavily armed Indian soldiers patrolled Srinagar's streets while the sandbagged post office resembled more a fortress than a public building. Along with strict regulations against contacts between Kashmiris and Pakistanis, the armed presence symbolized the insecurity Indian forces felt toward their own citizens as well as New Delhi's failure to integrate its northern state into the Indian union.

So far, India's response to the Kashmiri dilemma has been to blame Pakistan, to throw out the foreign press and to hope things eventually settle down. But with tourism—Kashmir's main industry—likely to suffer from the disturbances, the resulting economic difficulties will undoubtedly help stir up more violence.

—Daniel Puzin

tice Department in turn asked the FBI to investigate. According to one of Brewton's sources, the CIA told the FBI that Azima was "off limits." Added the source, "I was told by the FBI that Azima had a get-out-of-jail-free card." Brewton reports that federal investigators differ as to how closely Global was connected to the CIA. Some say the airline was owned by the agency; others say it worked for the CIA on a contract basis. It was perhaps an inside joke that the airline's letterhead read "GIA."

Partners in crime: One of Global's largest clients was the Department of Defense. Among its contracts was a \$2.7 million agreement to provide the Military Airlift Command with five military passenger flights per month. That contract was continued for almost a year after Global filed for bankruptcy. Another of Global's clients was the Miami-based Southern Air Transport, once owned by the CIA and now owned by a former CIA lawyer. Former Southern Air pilots allege that the company was involved in running guns down to the contras and smuggling drugs up to the U.S. The biggest Global client, however, was the Egyptian American Transport and Services Corp. (EATSCO), a shadowy company controlled by five men who worked together in Southeast Asia and later Iran. (See "The Contra Network's Secret Past," *In These Times*, April 15, 1987.) Gene Wheaton, a former Pentagon criminal investigator, told Brewton that Global was "the aviation arm of EATSCO. They owned it through cutouts—third parties." According to author Peter Maas, the five men who are alleged to have owned EATSCO are: Edwin Wilson, a CIA agent now in prison for selling arms to Libya; Theodore Shackley, a CIA agent who worked in Chile to overthrow Salvador Allende; Thomas Clines, a CIA agent who tried to strike a deal with the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza "to create a search-and-destroy apparatus against Somoza's enemies"; Erich von Marbod, the Carter administration's director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency (the office which oversees U.S. weapons sales to foreign governments); and Iran-contras conspirator Richard Secord.

Our man in the Beltway: According to the *Post's* sources, Azima was well connected to the Reagan administration. Frank Van Geyso, a former Global pilot, told Brewton, "Any time we had a little problem with the feds, Azima would jump on a plane to Washington and straighten it out. The [Federal Aviation Administration] would be mad as hell, but there was nothing they could do." Brewton reports that in 1986, Azima asked to reschedule his testimony in a suit involving the dissolution of Indian Springs so that he could attend a White House function. That function was probably a fundraiser sponsored by the President's Dinner Committee. According to Federal Election Commission records, in May 1986 Azima contributed \$9,000 to the committee. Committee spokesman Gary Koops says the dinner—"one of our major fundraising events of the year"—is "an annual event at which the president speaks." Koops told Brewton, "Those invited are people that have long supported the Republican Party ... President Reagan, major donors, people like that." Several weeks after Azima attended his White House get-together, a plane owned by Race Aviation flew 23 tons of weapons, including TOW missiles, to Iran as part of the administration's arms-for-hostages deal. Published reports have indicated that Race Aviation is owned by Azima and his wife.

A Congressional investigation? On February 5, the subcommittee of Rep. Frank Annunzio (D-IL) on financial institutions, supervision and regulation called CIA Director William Webster to testify "at the earliest possible time" behind closed doors about the alleged connections between the CIA and failed savings and loans. Curtis Prius, the subcommittee's staff director, told *In These Times*, "Webster has not come. We're still waiting for a reply." Speaking of his investigation Prius said, "We're just right now starting to take a look at the stuff to see what's involved. We're talking to some people, and we're following up on some leads. There is a lot of smoke, and we've got to see if it goes beyond that. We are not discrediting these allegations. Once we're a little bit further along, we will decide whether to hold hearings."

Small mystery

In a recent article, the *New York Times'* Robert Hershey posed the question: "What happened to the \$180 billion or so of paper money that has been printed over the years and seems to have disappeared?" The definitive answer came from Gregory Eliehausen, an analyst at the Federal Reserve Board, who said, "It's quite a mystery where all the cash is. I think we'd love to know."

By Brian Ahlberg

THIS COUNTRY'S FIRST PUBLIC SHOWDOWN over an agricultural biotechnology product with worldwide market potential—synthetic bovine growth hormone (BGH), designed to boost milk production in dairy cows—pits the chemical companies who aim to manufacture and sell it against an unusual political coalition opposing its commercial distribution.

Objections to the drug range from economic, food-safety and animal-health complaints to charges of corruption in the product's regulatory approval process.

Samuel Epstein, a critic of BGH and professor of occupational and environmental medicine at the University of Illinois Medical Center, has suggested a startling list of potential human health problems posed by BGH: hormonal and allergic effects, premature growth or breast stimulation in infants

AGRIBUSINESS

and the spread of antibiotic-resistant infections. None of these has been demonstrated, due to a lack of testing, but use of the hormone also has been strongly criticized by Virginia Polytechnic Institute veterinarian David Kronfeld, a pioneer of synthetic BGH. Kronfeld, who remains a supporter of the hormone's biotechnological potential, argues that veterinary tests with favorable scientific results have received wide attention through the manufacturing companies' public-relations efforts, while unfavorable results have been suppressed.

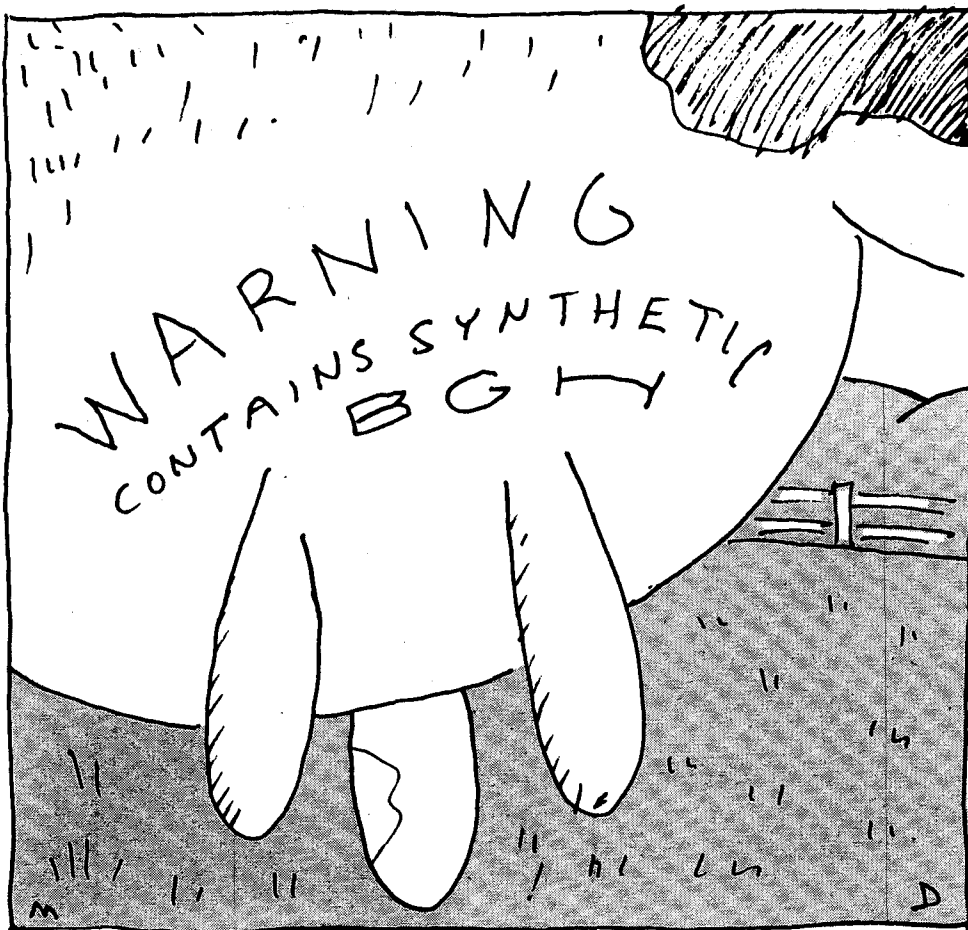
The manufacturers—Monsanto, American Cyanamid, Upjohn and Eli Lilly—hope that once the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approves BGH, or BST (bovine somatotropin, the veterinarians' name for BGH), daily hormone injections will increase each milk cow's output by 10 to 25 percent. The manufacturers also claim BGH is "biologically identical" to hormones produced naturally by cows and that residues of it are found in "natural" milk. BGH is perfectly safe, they say, and simply increases milk production.

Test milk and cookies: Possible human health effects are, of course, the primary concern of both promoters and opponents of BGH. The manufacturers claim through their front group, the Animal Health Institute, and in public advertisements that because BGH occurs naturally in cows, "You've had [BGH] and cookies all your life."

The genetic difference between natural and synthetic BGH is slight, say the manufacturers, and each is a digestible protein that humans break down in the same way. The companies repeatedly claim that there is no conclusive evidence that milk or beef—as much as 40 percent of domestic ground beef in the U.S. comes from "burned out" dairy cattle—treated with synthetic BGH threatens human health. Finally, the companies say, the level of BGH in milk from cows treated with the hormone has not been shown to be any higher than that found in natural milk.

Farmers see synthetic BGH as likely to hasten the trend toward larger, factory dairy operations, putting smaller ones out of business and further crippling rural communities. Wisconsin, Minnesota and Vermont already have lost a combined 30 per-

Farmers and activists unite to keep cows drug-free



cent of their dairy farms in the last decade. Family operations aren't less efficient—just historically more susceptible to market and price volatility.

Farmers also fear the effects of BGH on the health of their cows and on consumer confidence in milk. Many already are fighting dependency on chemicals like fertilizers, pesticides and antibiotics routinely encouraged by agribusiness and university experts. A production drug just isn't needed, say the farmers, to provide a plentiful supply of pure, wholesome milk at a fair price.

The coalition itself illustrates an emerging national trend. Family farmers, who suffered one of their most disastrous decades ever during the '80s, have begun uniting with environmentalists, consumer advocates and animal-protection groups to try to reshape the future of the U.S. food system. Their aim: to create an ecologically and economically sustainable agriculture. Allies from both sides are discovering, in many cases to their surprise, that the interests of environmentalists and consumers are often the same as those of small and medium-sized food producers.

While the dairy industry doesn't have a problem with efficiency, higher production levels and lower commodity prices favor the corporate agribusiness elements, especially the processors and distributors.

The federal government hit dairy farmers with a series of price cuts in recent years: in 1987 and 1988, more than \$1 billion was spent on the "whole-herd buyout," an effort to reduce dairy herds by a million cows in response to an oversupply of dairy. Dairy farmers have long advocated a price and supply management program that would satisfy both producers and consumers.

But the government has pitted the groups against each other, as price cuts squeeze

family operations but never lower retail prices for milk. This year, a policy-driven shortage combined with drought-related increases in feed prices upped the retail price of milk. Farmers were incorrectly blamed, especially on urban editorial pages.

The politics of residue: Dairy products are the most inspected and controlled food in the U.S. Numerous trace residues of suspect antibiotics, however, recently were found in private tests of random milk samples conducted by the *Wall Street Journal* and the Center for Science in the Public Interest. Following disclosure of the findings, a February hearing before a House Government Operations subcommittee concluded that milk remains a highly nutritious and safe food. Nonetheless, the flurry of attention alarmed some consumers and showed that FDA tests don't always catch potentially harmful antibiotic residues.

Animal-protection advocates share dairy operators' concerns about the effects of BGH on cows. At a January press conference in Washington, D.C., organized by farmers, Dr. Michael Fox, vice president of the U.S. Humane Society and noted author on farm and animal topics, cited "clear evidence" that BGH can contribute to mastitis (udder infection), lameness and metabolic and endocrine disorders as well as reproductive problems in cows. Fox also stated that food animals should be given drugs only for veterinary purposes. Further, he said, some of the health irregularities listed above would warrant the administration of more antibiotics.

The role of the FDA has become a key issue in the debate over BGH. Environmentalists like Jack Doyle, director of the agriculture and biotechnology project at Friends of the Earth and author of *Altered Harvest*, see BGH as just the tip of the iceberg in agricultural biotechnology, in which a government-

encouraged Wild West atmosphere prevails. One of the country's most thoughtful and credible critics of the total free-market approach to biotechnology, Doyle says he is outraged by the mess made so far of the FDA's scientific review of BGH and fears it could be a model for the emerging industry. "We are not getting the best science available for ensuring the safety of new bio-engineered products," he says.

Richard Burroughs, a veterinarian and leading critic of BGH who headed the animal-health portion of the FDA's review of BGH until 1988, says there is "insidious" political pressure within the FDA to approve new products. "We need to find out what this hormone is going to do, warts and all," says Burroughs.

But warts are definitely not what the FDA is seeking. When Burroughs challenged his former boss at the FDA over the agency's relationship with Monsanto and over the review's shoddy science, he was removed from the project and fired in November 1989. Burroughs has since been interviewed by several leading newspapers, and his accusations helped prompt Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT) to call for a General Accounting Office investigation into the BGH review now underway.

Government and industry act as a coalition, says Burroughs, and undue influence over the FDA by the very companies the agency is supposed to regulate is routine. "First, the company determines the dose they need to market in order to make a profit, then they decide, along with the agency, which tests they need to do to prove that dose safe." Burroughs also charges that the BGH project was ill-conceived from the beginning and that the quality of the data he received from the manufacturers while working on the review was "appalling."

Despite major reservations from Burroughs and other prominent scientists, the FDA has allowed manufacturers to distribute milk commercially from about 200 test herds around the country. The test milk is mixed with natural milk in transport trucks and at processing plants, and no explanatory label or other consumer notification is attached to the final product. More than 100 environmental, consumer, animal-protection and farm organizations have called on the FDA to halt this test-milk distribution. "Otherwise, we are saying it's OK to use the human population as guinea pigs," says Doyle.

Upon FDA approval, manufacturers must prove their product safe and effective. No long-term health studies, however, have been done on BGH, aside from those in which a BGH derivative was administered to dwarf children in the '50s. In addition, it is currently impossible to distinguish between residues of natural and synthetic hormones in milk. The companies claim this demonstrates how identical the hormones are and that the level of residue from synthetic BGH is negligible. But Burroughs says injected BGH may "shut down" the pituitary gland in milk cows. If that's the case, all BGH residues found in test milk could be synthetic, as it is the pituitary gland that produces natural BGH in cows.

No milk is good milk: A few major grocery-store chains have announced they will not carry milk from BGH test cows—a promise difficult either to guarantee or to disprove in practice. In Wisconsin, the country's leading dairy state, an effort to require labeling

Continued on page 22

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE LAWRENCE Eagleburger appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early February to defend the Bush administration's policy toward China. His opening statement followed argument for argument—almost line for line—a private memorandum that former President Richard Nixon had earlier sent to congressional leaders.

Sixteen years after being forced to resign from office, Nixon is back in power as one of Bush's closest foreign-policy advisers. Through office consultation and memos to the president, Nixon has guided the administration's China policy and influenced its policy toward the Soviet Union.

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His return is portentous. While he remains an astute political analyst, his foreign-policy views have not changed substantially in the last two decades. In taking his advice on China, the administration is following policies that assume world conditions similar to those that prevailed in the '70s rather than the '90s.

Brutal septuagenarians: When then-President Nixon initiated his opening to China in 1971, he transformed American foreign policy, abandoning a quasi-religious Cold War strategy based upon the assumption of a monolithic world Communism, for a balance-of-power strategy. This new approach assumed that the U.S. could profitably ally itself with some Communist states—regardless of their internal practices—in order to check the ambitions of others.

Nixon sought China's help in pressuring North Vietnam and counterbalancing Soviet power. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations continued his strategy of using the "China card" against the Soviet Union. In his first months, Bush, who served in the Nixon administration and later became President Gerald Ford's envoy to Peking, followed the same strategy. But his administration's adherence to the strategy was severely tested by Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachov's withdrawal from Europe and South Asia and by last June's massacre at Tiananmen Square.

In responding to the bloodbath, during which perhaps thousands of protesters were crushed by government tanks, the Bush administration had to confront two basic questions about its China policy. Was there still an overriding balance-of-power reason for the U.S. to ignore gross human-rights abuses by the Chinese leadership, or should the U.S. seek the same mix of democratic and geopolitical objectives in its relations with China that it seeks with other countries? And even if there were still an overriding reason to ignore the regime's internal practices, was China's leadership sufficiently entrenched to merit public American support, or was the U.S. risking its long-term relationship with China by identifying itself with an unpopular regime that future regimes were likely to repudiate?

The Bush administration's answers, offered over the past seven months, are that the same geopolitical priorities still prevail and that they dictate closely identifying American policy with the current regime of corrupt and brutal septuagenarians.

Nixon's line: In the aftermath of the massacre, Bush adopted a public and a private strategy for dealing with China. Publicly, the

Nixon's China policy: a return engagement



Richard Nixon in 1969: renewing the fear of a Chinese-Soviet alliance.

president suspended military sales to China on June 5. And on June 20, amid growing public outcry against death sentences meted out to demonstrators, he suspended high-level meetings between American and Chinese officials.

Privately, however, Bush continued arms sales and high-level contacts. On the July 4 weekend, Eagleburger and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft made a secret trip to meet with Chinese officials, and in early July Bush approved \$48 million of military aircraft sales. (In his Senate testimony, Eagleburger incredibly insisted that the first visit didn't violate Bush's public pledge because it was a high-level "exchange" and not a "contact.")

In his secret strategy, Bush sought cordial relations with the Chinese leadership without risking public condemnation either at home or in China. But Nixon wanted Bush to go farther.

After the massacre, both Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who has significant business interests in China, urged that the U.S. not jeopardize its special relationship by protesting human-rights abuses. Both men argued that by alienating China, the U.S. could create the basis for a Soviet-Chinese alliance against the U.S. In November, after a one-week visit to China, Nixon advised Bush that he should publicly appease the Chinese leaders.

Nixon wrote an 18-page letter to Bush about his mission and sent a seven-page summary letter to congressional leaders. In that communique, a copy of which *In These Times* has obtained, he warned that U.S.-China relations were at their lowest ebb since 1972 and urged that the U.S. "consider taking one step on its own now: the resumption of contacts between high-level administration officials and Chinese officials."

He argued that the U.S. should maintain a

"cooperative relationship" with China's leaders. Nixon listed seven reasons for doing so, including China's participation in regional negotiations in Southeast Asia, the threat of nuclear proliferation, the need to counter Japanese power and the opportunities for American trade and investment in China. But the first and most important reason was to prevent the Soviet Union from creating an alliance with China against the U.S.

By following Nixon's prescriptions, the Bush administration is courting disaster.

"Gorbachov is not a closet democrat, a philanthropist or a fool," Nixon wrote. "His handshake will be warm, but based on his past record we can assume he will have a card or two up his sleeve. We should never treat China as a card. But it would not serve our interests if Gorbachov were able to do so." Later Nixon reiterated the same point. "At a time when we are talking to the Soviets and the Chinese are talking to the Soviets, the Americans and the Chinese should be talking to one another."

In the memo the former president belittled the Tiananmen massacre, describing the Cultural Revolution as "far more brutal." (Of course, the revolution was a virtual civil war between contending factions rather than government repression of defenseless demonstrators.) He charged that the bill of Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) preventing the deportation of Chinese students was a "backward step." And he described his policy as one of backing the "reformers" against the "reactionaries."

In succeeding months the Bush adminis-

tration has followed Nixon's script to the letter. On November 30, Bush vetoed Pelosi's bill. On December 9, Bush sent Eagleburger and Scowcroft back to China on a public mission.

Missing reformers: By following Nixon's prescriptions, the Bush administration is courting disaster. It is ignoring the fact that the Soviet leadership appears so preoccupied maintaining its own borders and reviving its stagnant economy that it can hardly be called a threat to the U.S. or China. Indeed, even if the Soviet Union wanted to draw China into an alliance, it does not have the advanced technology necessary for luring China away from Japan and the West.

The U.S. does need to stop China from exporting nuclear-weapons technology and backing the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, but its success in doing so does not appear to depend on maintaining an uncritical relationship with the current Chinese leadership. Over the last decade the Chinese have repeatedly rejected quiet diplomatic requests to curb their arms sales or alter their policy in Southeast Asia. After the second Eagleburger-Scowcroft meeting in December, when the administration claimed significant Chinese concessions on arms sales abroad, overseas sources reported Chinese missile sales to Syria and Libya, the sale of nuclear technology to Pakistan and a technology transfer agreement with Iran.

To describe the U.S., as did Nixon and Eagleburger, as backing "reformers" against the "reactionaries," is to deprive these words of any discernible meaning. In the aftermath of Tiananmen Square, China's leaders not only instituted a brutal reign of terror on the order of Chile in 1973, including arbitrary executions and torture, but also began to dismantle the market system that Deng Xiaoping created. There do not appear to be any reformers left in the Chinese leadership.

Even on relatively minor issues, the nation's leaders have proved intransigent. For instance, in trying to win Republican support for sustaining Bush's veto of the Pelosi bill, administration officials argued that if the bill passed, China would shut off the flourishing overseas study by Chinese college students. A week later, after the Senate sustained Bush's veto, the Chinese leadership announced that students would have to work for five years before being eligible for overseas study. And Communist Party work units would have to certify the political reliability of those who apply for exit permits.

Yet the greatest pitfall of Nixon and the administration's strategy is the degree to which it identifies the U.S. with a highly unpopular and aged regime that is certain to be replaced over the next decade. The U.S. already made this mistake in China 50 years ago when it threw its entire moral and military weight behind Chiang Kai-shek, and it made the same mistake in Iran when it wholeheartedly backed the shah. Chiang and the shah's hold on their countries were far more certain than Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng's. It's likely that China's next leaders will regard Deng, Li and their international allies as poisonous snakes rather than as kindly grasshoppers.

Bush's China policy, like his policy with the Soviet Union, seems based on a mixture of fantasy and nostalgia. He is like a sleepwalker who dozed off sometime around 1974—when he was thinking he would rather be an envoy to Peking than Nixon's chairman of the Republican National Committee. Somebody needs to tell Bush that Nixon is no longer president.

IN THESE TIMES FEB. 28-MARCH 13, 1990 7

**Over \$5 billion
in U.S. military
spending:**

El Salvador:

75,000 dead since 1980

Nicaragua:

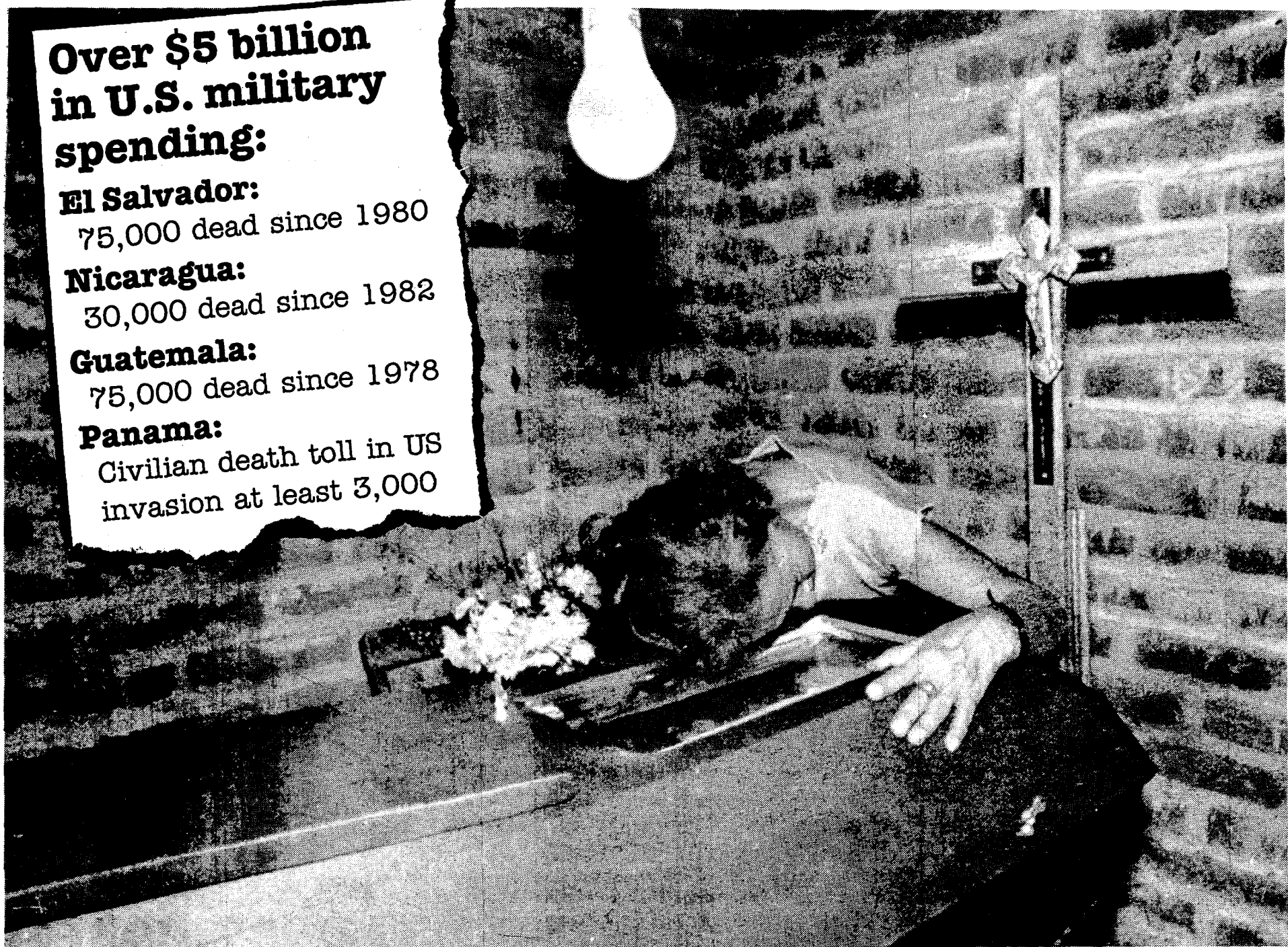
30,000 dead since 1982

Guatemala:

75,000 dead since 1978

Panama:

Civilian death toll in US
invasion at least 3,000



Stop the U.S. War in Central America

Archbishop Romero Commemoration and March
Saturday, March 24
Washington, D.C.

Assemble 10:00 am at U.S. Capitol • March and Rally Followed by Nonviolent Civil Disobedience

- End all U.S. aid to El Salvador
- End the U.S. war against Nicaragua

- No invasions; U.S. troops out of Panama;
End military aid to Guatemala
- Cut military spending; Fund human needs

Sponsors: American Indian Movement, Building with the Voiceless of El Salvador, Caribbean Action Lobby, Center for Immigration Rights, Central America Working Group, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Christic Institute, Church of the Brethren, Church Women United, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), COMADRES, Conference of Major Superiors of Men, Central America Refugee Committee (CRECEN), DC Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (DC SCAR), Disarm Education Fund, District 1199/SEIU, Emergency National Council on Central America and the Caribbean, Environmental Project on Central America (EPOCA), Episcopal Peace Fellowship, FENASTRAS, Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Intercommunity Center for Peace and Justice, Interfaith Office on Accompaniment, Jesuit Missions, Jesuit Social Ministries, Jobs with Peace, Labor Coalition on Central America, MADRE, Maryknoll Justice and Peace Office, Hilda Mason—Washington, DC Councilmember-at-Large, Mobilization for Survival, National Central America Health Rights Network (NCAHRN), National Committee on Campus Ministry of the United Methodist Church, National Lawyers' Guild, National Student Young Women's Christian Association, New Jewish Agenda, Nicaragua Network, NISGUA, Office of the Americas, Pax Christi-USA, Pledge of Resistance, Quixote Center/Quest for Peace, SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security, Socialist Workers Party, Unitarian Universalists, United Church of Christ, United Methodist Church—Department of Peace and World Order, General Board of Church and Society, United States Student Association, Voices on the Border, Washington Office on Haiti, Witness for Peace, Women Strike for Peace, World Peacemakers, Young Koreans United.

P.O. Box 12151, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 483-3911
Marches in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Austin, TX

By Gordon Haskell

SOFIA, BULGARIA

BULGARIA'S SLOW-MOVING DEMOCRATIC revolution that began in November appears to have been delivered on a platter by a faction in the country's ruling party, which is one reason the party remains in control. But one could also say that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov handed the Bulgarians their chance at freedom from Stalinism, just as Alexander II freed them from 500 years of Ottoman rule in 1878. In both cases, however, tens of thousands of Bulgarians had engaged in obstinate, deadly, decades-long struggles against these tyrannies—struggles made all the more bitter because no one in the outside world seemed to know about them or to care.

Even now, as the political situation changes hourly, American reporters occasionally fly in from Hungary or Yugoslavia for a day to cover the highlights. Most American and European newspapers and broadcasts assign about two sentences a week to Bulgaria.

Nationalist tensions: During the weekend of January 6-7, the democratic revolution seemed to have been successfully derailed by Bulgaria's version of the "national question." People in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia were talking about almost nothing else that weekend as thousands of Bulgarians from Kurdjali and other town's with large ethnic Turkish populations angrily paraded in the streets. Their demonstration concerned a Dec. 29, 1989, decision by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) to rescind all measures against their ethnic Turkish countrymen. The formal complaint of these nationalistic Bulgarians was not the December 29 decision itself but the undemocratic way in which it had been made, they said, by a sudden unilateral decision of the BCP. They demanded a national referendum on the "national question" concerning Bulgaria's Turkish population.

But the arguments on the streets and the placards they piled on the steps of the parliament made it quite clear that those Bulgarians hadn't gone on general strikes and hunger strikes in their hometowns to make a procedural point. Many Bulgarians believe that 300,000 ethnic Turks had migrated to Turkey last summer because they intend to "return on the turrets of tanks" and roll the Bulgarians back to the Balkan Mountains. The Bulgarian nationalists' real dream is for their Mohammedan ethnic Turkish fellow-citizens to vanish. How? No one says.

The opposition United Democratic Forces (UDF) called a counterdemonstration for the following weekend. The political atmosphere had been poisoned to the point that they couldn't be sure how many people would show up. But they had no alternative—they had been told that the regional cadres of BCP had whipped up and financed the nationalist actions in an effort to derail the democratic struggle.

The January 14 UDF demonstration was the biggest voluntary rally in Bulgarian history. One hundred fifty thousand people jammed Sofia's cathedral square in freezing weather and thundered, "Down with the BCP," "Resign, Resign" to their parliament, "Unity, Unity" against nationalist divisiveness, and "Pod-Kre-Pa, Pod-Kre-Pa" in support of the new, independent, Solidarity-style labor federation. At that point, the Bulgarian



A diverse opposition toils toward democracy

national problem had been defused, at least for the time being.

The UDF has called for land to the tillers, a mixed market-oriented economy, ecological protection of their natural resources and "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Although it sounds familiar to Americans, it's actually the old populist program of Bulgaria's Peasant Union, with each group in UDF placing special emphasis on the parts dearest to its heart.

Slow movement: The BCP-dominated parliament met the day after the UDF demonstration and rescinded two clauses in the constitution that conferred the leading role in government on the BCP. They also passed laws granting ethnic Turkish minorities their full rights and removing the requirement that all university courses be taught in the spirit of Marxism.

The following day, UDF organizations and the BCP—with its various satellites, fronts and vassals—met at a "round table" to negotiate the transition to a democratic society. The UDF had insisted in preparatory meetings that they could not negotiate "as

It would seem to be a miracle if the opposition remained solidly united.

equals" unless they first had a newspaper, an office building in which to edit it and conduct business and at least one hour of autonomous TV and radio time to counter the pervasive BCP programming. Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov, who led the BCP side, announced that his party had agreed to the newspaper and building "in principle"—but that there were practical problems. UDF leader Zhelo Zhelev and other UDF members pointed out that the BCP and its allies have dozens of buildings scattered all

over Sofia—many of which were now redundant, given the parliament's removal from the constitution of the party's leading role.

For a week the round table met each day, then adjourned as the UDF refused to start "substantive negotiations" until its paper

Homeless manifestos

It is hard for an American to grasp the intensity of political life in Bulgaria. In freezing weather about 300 people gather every Saturday afternoon in Sofia's Southern Park to discuss, argue, plan and organize. Months after dictator Todor Zhivkov's fall the opposition had no hall, no offices, no newspaper. In the park, placards identify each group: Social Democrats, Radical Democrats, Non-party Democrats, Republicans, Greens, Eko-Glasnost (environmentalists), Peasant Union-Nicola Petkov (the part of the pre-Stalinist population not coopted by the BCP), Independent Association for Human Rights and, biggest of all, Podkrepa, the independent federation of trade unions with separate signs for miners, economists, construction workers, health workers and journalists.

Lacking news organs, organizations post typed "manifestos" wherever they can. Each one invariably attracts a crowd of 10 to 20 people, stamping their feet on the ice, reading intently. A floating forum of from 100 to 300 people is permanently in session behind the parliament building or wherever there is an official meeting—discussing, arguing. As an "Amerikanski correspondent," I quickly become a center of attention. They ply me with questions about the U.S. and help me to break through security cordons at demonstrations. By the time I left Sofia on January 24, my "street buddies" were staging nightly marches through the capital, chanting "BCP is mafia!" —G.H.

and building existed in fact and not in "principle." But the adjournments were not without their political costs. UDF supporters were getting restless as the revolution seemed stalled.

It would seem to be a miracle if the opposition, emerging from five decades of repression—its leaders coming out of prison or exile, with a younger generation with no experience in politics, and groups and movements who have had little opportunity to work together—can remain solidly united. By the last week in January, the fissures and cracks were beginning to show. Personal ambition, mutual suspicion and rumors that people had accepted "rehabilitation" by the BCP had begun to take their inevitable toll.

But the tensions are at least as severe in the Communist camp. During the mass meetings of two official party factions it was difficult to distinguish one faction's manifesto and platform from those of the UDF, while the other was led by die-hard "Bolshevik-Leninists." When an emergency convention of the BCP met at the end of January, the newspapers in the U.S. reported that arguments were heated, fist fights broke out and the whole BCP-dominated Cabinet resigned with the statement that only a government with a broader base—including the opposition—could now govern Bulgaria. Then the country disappeared again from the news.

The Bulgarians are acutely aware that their revolution is moving at a more leisurely pace than those in the rest of Eastern Europe. They don't want to repeat the bloody Romanian experience, but they are embarrassed that only Albania is behind them. They aspire not only to full democracy but to become a "civilized, modern" nation, as they describe it. During the 500 years under the Turks, Bulgaria missed the common European experiences of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, along with most of the Industrial Revolution. Now they want a real try at democracy.

As their great writer Ivan Vazov wrote about their national awakening in the middle of the 19th century: "In just a few days—covertly, in stages—the nation matured by several ages." It is happening again in 1990. □

Gordon Haskell was born and raised in Bulgaria. He recently returned from a three-week visit to Sofia.

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By Paul Hockenos

PRISTINA, YUGOSLAVIA

A LONG THE TREE-LINED MARSHAL TITO Boulevard, anti-riot troops, automatic rifles slung over one shoulder and gas masks over the other, stand poised at intersections blocked by armored jeeps. The hum of helicopters overhead is broken only when thundering MiG-29s roar down upon the capital of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo. Scores of army and paramilitary police units patrol its run-down Balkan towns and rural hamlets.

Since 1981, when republican forces crushed nationalist revolts here, Kosovo's ethnic Albanians have lived under near-military occu-

YUGOSLAVIA

pation. The animosity between the Albanian majority—90 percent of the region's 2 million people—and the Belgrade-backed Serbian and Montenegrin minorities has long been the source of violent ethnic strife. But after police opened fire on pro-democracy rallies in late January, killing at least 28 ethnic Albanians, Kosovo's ethnic problem assumed national dimensions.

Once a maverick reformer in contrast to its Eastern European neighbors, Yugoslavia is now bitterly at odds with itself over the path toward multiparty democracy and political pluralism. Within the fragile federation of six multinational republics, Serbia's aggressive party chief, Slobodan Milosevic, has elected a heavy-handed course that few thought possible after the bloodshed in Romania. The nationalistic strongman's repression of the ethnic Albanians in his republic's southwestern corner, however, could backfire.

The most recent crackdown began January 23, on the final day of the ruling Communist Party's federal congress in Belgrade. In scenes reminiscent of Leipzig and Prague, thousands of ethnic Albanians, led by students and young people, took to Kosovo's streets chanting, "We want democracy!" Their demands, too, had a familiar ring: free elections, the release of political prisoners and an end to the state of emergency and the discriminatory practices of regional party authorities.

A demonstration of 10,000 people in front of the party headquarters triggered the repression as police tried unsuccessfully to disperse the crowd with water cannons and tear gas dropped from helicopters. Dozens were injured and 116 arrested. The protests spread, and violence escalated. Security forces first fired without warning on crowds on January 27 as people marched in the village of Brestovac. Four were killed and 10 wounded. Demonstrations in townships throughout the province were met with similar reprisals until reinforcements, including tanks, managed to quell the uprising a week later.

Of the 28 dead, only 11 had been demonstrating at the time. Squads of the infamous Union of State Security (UDB), the federal secret police, entered villages in combat vehicles. UDP sharpshooters indiscriminately picked off people who were taking a walk or working near their homes. Most were shot either in the head or from behind. All but four were under the age of 30.

Under the pretense that the well-being of the outnumbered Serbs and other minorities was at risk, the government dispatched federal militia and police from every republic. According to Radio Belgrade, its switchboards were flooded with appeals for help.

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Police use tear gas to disperse Albanian demonstrators in Pristina.

Albanians and Serbians on the brink of civil war

In well-orchestrated rallies—complete with portraits of Milosevic and Serbian flags—more than 100,000 marched in Belgrade on the minorities' behalf. Serbian communities in Kosovo called for full military intervention and set up armed civil guards around their villages. No attacks, however, were reported.

The authorities say that they were "returning the fire" of "armed separatist terrorists," but that claim is widely contested by independent eyewitnesses, foreign journalists and Albanian activists. No Serbs or security troops were killed.

"We have no weapons. We've got nowhere to get them," says Refik, 22, a student at Pristina University. "The government says that we're terrorists, but they're the ones with machine guns. All we have are rocks."

In an open letter to the federal executive in Belgrade, a coalition of Albanian cultural and political groups asserted that the aim of "police intervention is not to keep peace and order" but "to conduct mass reprisals against an innocent civil population. The fact that the bad situation in Kosovo has reached the dimensions of a rebellion is a result of the terrorist actions of the police." The government, reads the letter, has resorted to death squads to pacify Kosovo and intimidate its people.

The uprising's actual death toll could be much higher than reported. People are still missing from their homes and workplaces. Activists say the missing have been buried by the police.

Albanians are scared to go to the hospital,

explains Refik. "Everybody knows that informers work there. And once you're on a UDB blacklist, you can be sure that you've lost your job."

Divide and conquer? Although the minorities' fear is not unfounded, the new level of antagonism between the Kosovar nationalities is a direct result of Milosevic's bellicose policies. The former banker has used Kosovo to whip up a fervent nationalism in Serbia. This has won him a powerful and popular role in the federation's largest republic within only two years. Rather than confront the republic's dire economic ills—last year the national inflation rate was 2,000 percent—his demagogic, anti-Albanian rhetoric has united the Orthodox population against the largely Moslem Albanians, as well as against the Serbs' political rivals, the liberal Slovenes to the north.

The party leader has manipulated Serbs' and Montenegrins' deep resentment of the ethnic Albanians' numerical dominance, which has escalated drastically since 1945. The Albanian birth rate here, the highest in Europe, and Serbian migration have left the minority isolated in the region that they consider the cradle of their medieval culture. Milosevic and like-minded Serbs call the Kosovar minorities "victims of genocide," implying that they have been forced out by Albanian separatists who are seeking an "ethnically pure republic." Most of the approximately 30,000 migrants since 1980 have in fact left to escape the impoverished region's devastated economy.

The clash of Christian and Islamic cultures has proven a potent breeding ground for anti-Moslem racism. "They are the minority in Serbia, not us," says Tomas Petrovich, a radio engineer in Pristina who sees the "green tide" from the East as Serbia's and Europe's greatest threat. "We pay for their education, health service, social benefits—everything. And yet we're the ones being taken over. Milosevic gives us courage, but he's still too soft. We need much more radical, more final solutions."

At the heart of the tension is Kosovo's status within the Serbian republic. The province has been under direct Serbian control since 1988, when Milosevic made his name by pushing through constitutional amendments that limited Kosovo's autonomy over state security, judicial matters, territorial defense, foreign policy and financial planning.

The move reversed Tito's 1974 measures granting Kosovo and the northern Vojvodina province full autonomy within the republic. Tito's motive—to truncate Serbia's influence in the federation—stung a people who believe that their traditions of statehood, military prowess and participation on the Allied side in both world wars entitles them at least to a position of first among equals among the republics.

Kosovo's downgraded status provoked demonstrations of 100,000 in November 1988 and a near general strike and even bigger protests followed last March. At the Trepca zinc and lead mines, 1,300 workers went on a grisly eight-day hunger strike 700 meters below ground. They insisted that party leaders either visit the mines and explain their positions or resign. The militia was finally ordered in, and 24 Albanians were killed.

A spate of arrests followed, including that of Azem Vllasi, the 41-year-old former Kosovo party head and central committee member who had been expelled from his

offices in January. The ethnic Albanians' highest-ranking politician, considered pro-Serbian by many, and 14 co-defendants were charged with "counterrevolutionary activities" for their alleged role in the protests, an offense that carries sentences ranging from 10 years imprisonment to the death penalty. Further demonstrations were staged at the onset of the closed trial last fall. Three more were killed.

Tears of brutality: Under state-of-emergency conditions, authorities have stepped up their campaign against the ethnic Albanians. Since 1981, more than 350,000 Albanians have undergone police interrogation and 2,000 have been sentenced for political offenses, according to Kosovo officials. All forms of mass assembly are illegal, including funerals, which only close relatives of the deceased may attend.

In the countryside, the security apparatus has terrorized the population with classic police-state methods. UDB patrols routinely drive through villages, shooting up houses, beating residents and firing tear gas into homes, schools and mosques. In the sparsely populated farming community of Hajvalia, the pungent odor of mace is conspicuous along patches of the dirt road leading to Pristina.

"Tear gas is a way of life for us here," says Islam, a father of six from the village who works periodically as an unskilled laborer in Switzerland. "Our children breathe so much of this poison that they're sick from it. If I could, I'd take them with me just to escape it."

In every sphere of cultural and social life, ethnic Albanians face discrimination. This year 10,000 Albanian children are without places in high schools, although classrooms remain empty in Serbian schools, waiting for the Serbs the government has been unable to lure to the province. Also, more than 1,000 qualified Albanian students have been denied university spots on political grounds.

"We have the right to education on paper," explains Isuf Berisha, president of the newly formed Kosovo Society of Philosophers and

Yugoslavia is at odds over the path toward multiparty democracy and political pluralism.

Sociologists. "But if someone from a student's family was ever imprisoned or active in demonstrations, his application is rejected."

The purge of intellectuals has been particularly harsh. Political and academic censorship has cost hundreds of teachers, professors and writers their jobs or landed them in jail, says Berisha.

The country's economic slide has hit Kosovo hard, despite federal subsidies to the region of more than \$1 million a day. In outlying areas, where horse-drawn carts are a standard means of transportation, nearly 60,000 people have no income at all. Unemployment among Albanians has soared since ambitious market reforms began two years ago. With two-thirds of the ethnic Albanian work force idle, many seek temporary jobs in Western Europe to make ends meet.

"There are no prospects for me here," says Mhemet, 23, a chemistry student who, like most of his peers, hopes to move abroad. "If there is a job opening, it's a Serb who gets first crack at it. Only when no one else is interested will an Albanian have a chance."



Albanians demanding democracy gather in front of Communist Party headquarters in Pristina.

According to Labor Ministry statistics presented at the Human Rights in Eastern Countries Conference in Prague this year, only one in 15 Kosovar Albanians has a job, while one in five Serbs and one in three Montenegrins is employed.

At the top of their political demands is the removal of provincial party boss Rahman Morina, who replaced Vllasi early last year. Considered Belgrade's man in Kosovo, Morina condoned the recent killings as unfortunate but necessary. Morina has been installed without the people's consent, argues Berisha. "Since he doesn't represent our interests, he wouldn't stand a chance in free elections."

The former police chief is also under heavy pressure to step down from within party ranks. Lower-level officials have already resigned by the dozens, and thousands of pro-Tito Kosovars have handed in their party cards. If Morina is ousted, Milosevic could follow suit.

Toward the political arena: In contrast to the uprisings of 1945, 1968 and 1981, the tone of the protest movement today is political rather than separatist or nationalist. The call is for democracy and autonomy within Serbia, not for republican status, as it was in 1981, much less secession. Although a potent core of separatists exists, most ethnic Albanians consider themselves Kosovars and hold no lost love for their Stalinist neighbor. Strong-arm repression, however, contradicts the flexible national policy that Tito recognized as the key to a united Yugoslavia. If Albanians across the border wake up, a persecuted Kosovo might decide to take shelter under a more appealing roof.

For the time being, the broad-based movement appears to be rallying under the leadership of moderate reformers. In the last three months, half a dozen human-rights and pro-democracy groups have sprung up. Dissident Ibrahim Rugova, literary critic and president of the Kosovo Writers Association, heads the largest group, the Democratic League of Kosovo (DLK), which has enlisted 200,000 members in less than a month.

The league's first priority is an open forum for dialogue. Although its platform is still vague, the DLK models itself after the liberal and social-democratic opposition parties that have emerged in Slovenia and Croatia, as well as those throughout Eastern Europe. "We had no idea that we'd attract so many people," explains Rugova in the Writers Association's stark office, now the bustling league headquarters. "We've since decided to become a party, but, of course, not a legal party yet."

The DLK is trying to channel discontent from the streets into a political arena. The oppression of the past nine years has become unbearable, says the 51-year-old intellectual who was nearly imprisoned last year for his contact with Western journalists. "Unfortunately, the only avenue Albanians have to express their anger is demonstrations, which have been deemed a criminal offense. We want to work through peaceful democratic means to solve people's problems and meet their demands." If authorities continue to reject dialogue, he warns, violence is certain to erupt again.

The government is simply using charges of separatism and terrorism as an international alibi, he argues. "They're not ready to confront real democratic reform. The only way to keep those puppets in office is to prolong the state of emergency."

The Kosovo conflict is intertwined in the political battle raging at the federal level over the future shape of Yugoslavia. After nasty exchanges at the party congress, Slovene delegates walked out when Serbian hard-liners blocked their move to dismantle the Communist Party's monopoly on power. The Serbs thwarted radical proposals for multiparty reform, the abolition of political

trials and the transformation of the Communist Party into a union of independent parties.

While the congress' collapse heralds the imminent breakup of the party at the federal level, the Serbs are desperate to hold on to their waning power. "We in Serbia don't have any complexes any more, because we represent the majority in this country," said Milosevic in the crude tone that has become his trademark. "We have no intention of sitting in a mouse hole and taking orders from others."

A decentralized democratic union could fragment the federation along national and ethnic lines. Milosevic has gambled on Kosovo, staking everything on the province's forceful subjugation. If his efforts fail, a democratic Kosovo would show its former rulers scant allegiance. The hatred he has stirred on both sides will prove harder to overcome than it was to foment, thus painting the minorities into an even tighter corner.

Prosperous Slovenia, normally sour about subsidizing faraway Kosovo, has found an unlikely ally in the ethnic Albanians. Media and politicians, including state president Janez Drnovsek, have staunchly defended the autonomy movement. Thousands marched in Ljubljana against the killings. But Slovenia's personal ambitions are thinly veiled and, in any event, the republic, even with Croatia's help, can do little for the Albanians when push comes to shove at the other end of the Adriatic.

Thus the Serbian leaders find themselves in a political straitjacket, as Kosovo teeters nervously on the brink of a bloody civil war. Retreat would amount to political suicide, while military intervention has already diminished chances for a democratic compromise. But as the country's economic malaise deepens and calls for democracy grow louder, Milosevic can surely ill-afford to embrace the mechanisms of brute force that have served him so well in the past.

With leaders, army and people united, one can only hope that, for Serbian nationalism, the lessons of Timisoara have been learned. □

Paul Hockenos covers Eastern Europe for *In These Times*.

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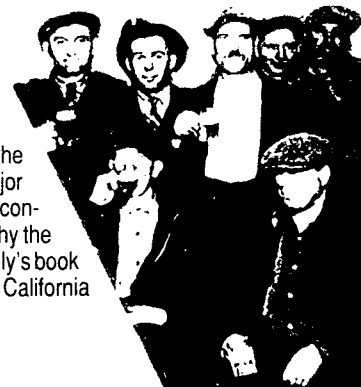
RADICALISM IN THE STATES

The Minnesota Farmer Labor Party and the American Political Economy

Foreword by Martin Shetter

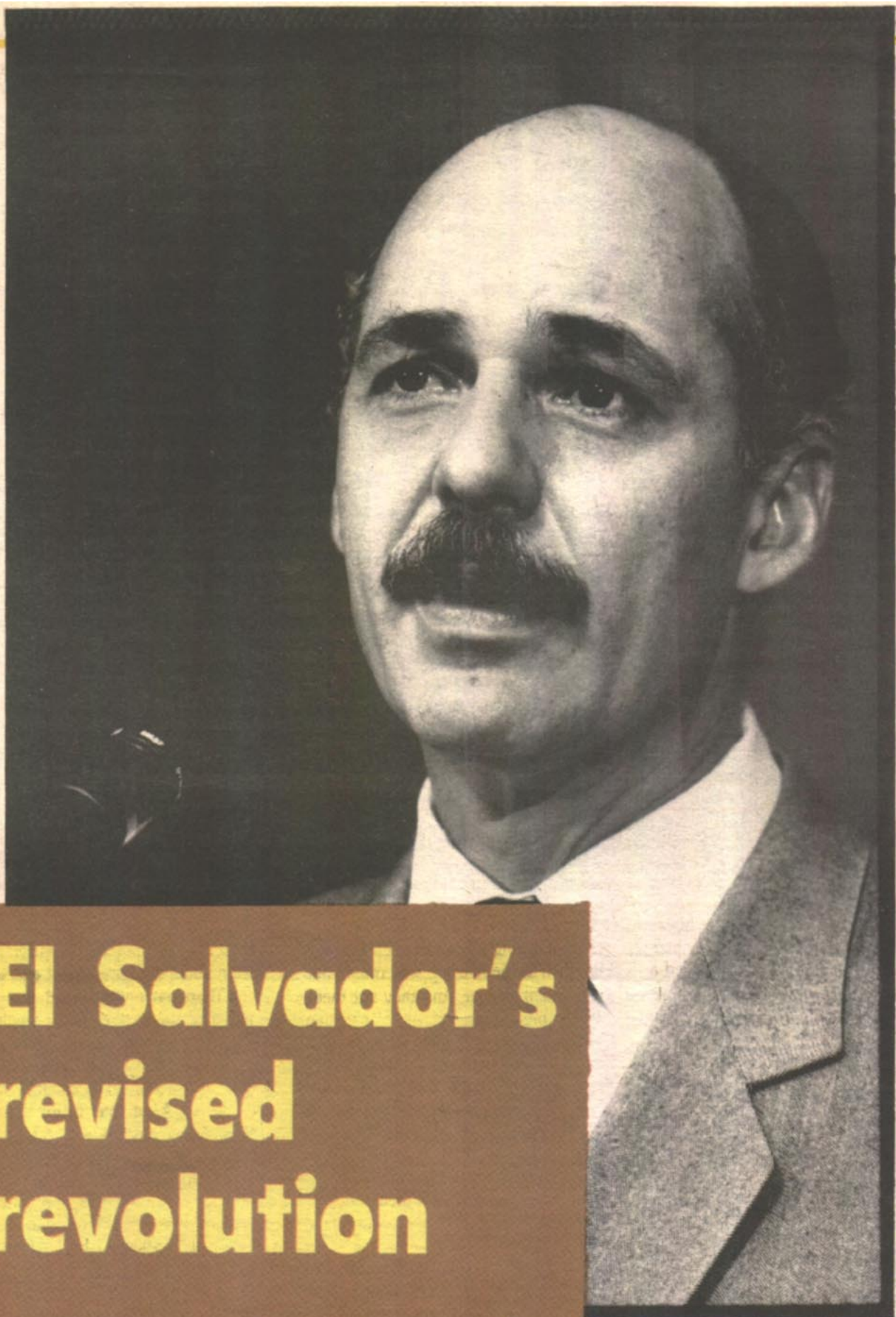
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El Salvador's revised revolution

By Frank Smyth

SAN SALVADOR

FATHER IGNACIO ELLACURIA AND THE FIVE other Jesuit priests murdered here last November were optimistic about the possibility of resolving El Salvador's 10-year civil war. "Never have we been in a better position," Ellacuria said last year. "So close to peace—and yet so far."

Initially, the priests' tragic deaths and the violence associated with the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) guerrillas' November offensive appeared to squelch any prospects for peace. But now, although the fallout from the rebel drive continues, an increasing number of Salvadorans, including key government and military officials, have begun to conclude that a negotiated settlement between the guerrillas and the government is the best and only way out.

Nevertheless, those in favor of a negotiated settlement face stiff opposition from the country's entrenched right wing. Whether

productive negotiations actually commence will depend in large part on the U.S. Congress and the debate over U.S. aid to El Salvador. Legislators must decide whether to use the aid as a lever to induce the Salvadoran government into negotiations or to continue bankrolling a seemingly endless, increasingly bloody and indefensible war.

Despite appearances, the actual bargaining positions of the government, led by President Alfredo Cristiani, and the rebel FMLN are not far apart. In fear of political and economic isolation, the guerrillas made tremendous concessions throughout 1989 as they dropped the majority of their longstanding demands for direct power sharing, for permanent control of territory based on military strength, and for the integration of rebel and government armies.

Let's make a deal: Rebel leaders now claim they are prepared to participate in elections and accept El Salvador's 1983 constitution. (Modeled after the U.S. Constitution, the 1983 constitution was created under

wartime conditions and thus was contested by the guerrillas.) But their participation in the elections would be contingent upon a radical restructuring of the Salvadoran armed forces, including purging the officer corps of known human-rights violators, reducing the military's troop size to peacetime levels and abolishing the country's security forces—reorganizing them under elected civilian rather than military control.

Publicly the Salvadoran government and military high command have rejected these demands. But privately both Cristiani and Chief of Staff Col. Rene Emilio Ponce have told visiting U.S. delegations that such military reforms could be considered. If that's true, prospects for a negotiated settlement may be closer than they seem.

Critics from different sides of the debate have questioned both the FMLN's and Cristiani's motivations to move toward negotiations. But in the wake of changes in Eastern Europe and the November offensive at home, both appear to have been forced to put prag-

El Salvador's President Alfredo Cristiani

matism ahead of their respective ideologies.

Cristiani, who was elected president last year largely on a promise of economic revival, knows that the FMLN holds the key to his administration's success. The November offensive demonstrated that merely keeping the war under control won't work. If Cristiani cannot end it, then his own policies—especially his free-market economic policies—are in trouble.

El Salvador's business community largely shares this view. It is difficult to imagine a thriving economy as long as the country's infrastructure can be attacked by the FMLN. The November offensive made this point clear, as it provoked long-term capital disinvestment by members of El Salvador's middle and upper classes, many of whom are leaving the country.

Many business leaders already were at odds with opponents of negotiations, especially those within the military. As an institution, the army has become an autonomous economic force, building its own bank and investing in real estate. Many business leaders thus remain suspicious of military abuses of power. In 1986, a kidnapping-for-profit ring that preyed on some of the country's wealthiest families was uncovered following an FBI investigation. Senior military officers involved were identified but never prosecuted.

Wealthy Salvadorans also have come to view the military as unable to fulfill its mandate to protect them. During the November offensive, Escalon and other exclusive suburbs on the western side of San Salvador were occupied by FMLN fighters three times in one month. While air strikes were avoided—unlike in poorer neighborhoods—the army's rampant use of tanks, bazookas and high-caliber machine guns did far more damage to the posh residences than did the rebel fighters.

From the FMLN's perspective, negotiations make pragmatic sense. The breakup of the Communist bloc has effectively eclipsed many previous rebel options. Said one guerrilla who participated in the November offensive and the subsequent occupation of Escalon, "A traditional radical victory is no longer possible. As revolutionaries, we have to have an open view."

Redefining revolution: Influenced greatly by changes sweeping the Soviet Union, the FMLN leadership began to re-evaluate its own Marxist doctrines, beginning with its nine-country tour of Latin America in October 1988.

The FMLN has since realized that a military takeover is not feasible and has redefined its own concept of revolution to include using military force to drive open democratic spaces within Salvadoran society. An internal FMLN document now circulating among mid-level commanders in San Salvador and elsewhere addresses the issue of "socialism" in a democratic society, and it calls into question the entire Marxist-Leninist tradition of a one-party state.

In place of the classic revolutionary scenario—a vanguard-led popular revolt seizing power and changing society from above—rebel leaders have begun to discuss changing society from within. "The purpose of the FMLN is to open democratic spaces so that the country's social forces are able to operate," said Augusto, a senior rebel official in Morazan province. "Over the past years of war there are many sectors that have been defending themselves, and now they need

space to express their views and work."

Much of the left's strength in El Salvador has come from its diligently organized and defended student, labor and peasant-based "popular movement." And many FMLN guerrillas and their supporters believe that if given the chance to participate without fear of reprisal or retribution, they could win a democratic election. Critics will be skeptical, but it should be noted that both the FMLN and the popular movement—which tends to sympathize with, if not support the FMLN—boycotted last year's elections, which gave the center-left Democratic Convergence less than 4 percent of the vote.

If this extensive semiclandestine and clandestine organization ever were brought above ground, it would supply the left with far more potential campaign activists than any existing political party. Such activists could mobilize the country's now largely electorally disenfranchised urban and rural poor. The questions are whether activists from both the guerrilla and the popular movements could safely be brought above ground, and if hard-line repressive elements within the military and rightist paramilitary groups could be controlled.

These members of the military, including some of the army's most powerful comman-

ders, vehemently oppose any attempt at negotiations and appear predisposed to using any means necessary to prevent them. The recent murder of Salvadoran Democratic Convergence leader Hector Oqueli in Guatemala is a case in point. The killing, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, may have been triggered by a meeting between FMLN leaders and Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-CT). The *Times* reported that a right-wing Salvadoran businessman ran into the FMLN delegation at the airport and verbally threatened them.

The businessman may have subsequently had Oqueli, who was in Guatemala at the time, killed for revenge. Western diplomatic sources in San Salvador now say the businessman was Orlando de Sola—a well-documented death-squad leader and financier.

Hard-line elements within Cristiani's Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party also are likely to oppose any move toward productive negotiations. Former Army Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson still enjoys the title of "maximum leader" of ARENA, which was originally organized as the political facade of a rightist paramilitary army. For longtime party activists, this transition from death squad to peacemaker is probably too much to bear.

The most important resistance to negotiations comes from within the armed forces. The military presently is dominated by the military academy's graduating class of 1966, commonly known as the Tandonas, and the Tandonas-controlled high command has explicitly ruled out any military reforms that may result from negotiations.

But the Tandonas' control over the military may be tenuous. In the wake of the November rebel offensive and the murders of the Jesuits, younger officers have become resentful of the Tandonas' stranglehold on power. While the younger officers believe the lieutenants charged with the murders were only following orders, senior officers fear more of their colleagues, in addition to Col. Guillermo Alfredo Benavides, a respected Tandonas member, might eventually be implicated.

An endemic epidemic: In El Salvador, which receives \$1.4 million daily in U.S. aid, corruption is endemic. And members of the Tandonas are widely seen by junior military officers as the worst offenders—a point of contention further aggravated by the Tandonas' poor performance during the November offensive, during which the army's decisions often were misguided and FMLN guerrillas were able to infiltrate the

capital and other cities at will. In Usulután and La Paz, ill-prepared troops deployed to pursue rebel columns were ambushed and virtually wiped out, according to military sources.

But while most Tandonas officers presently in command represent a hard-line position, the political line of many of the younger officers is unclear. Their casualty rates are high and, as a result, most seem to support a short-term solution to the war. Some, frustrated at what they see as overbearing human-rights concerns, would support an all-out or "total war" solution. Yet others who view the situation more realistically as a result of their experience in the field might support negotiations.

The military's objective interests also must be kept in mind. Unlike members of El Salvador's business community and unlike the FMLN leadership, the military opposes negotiations for the following reasons:

- Any reduction in troop size resulting from negotiations would necessitate a corresponding reduction in the officer corps, conceivably throwing hundreds of officers, for whom the military has become a way of life, into forced early retirement.

- By any estimate, the armed forces is the country's single most powerful institution. Politically, it enjoys effective veto power over most government decisions. Economically, it distributes and oversees a large part of the U.S. aid. According to the *New York Times Magazine*, for example, the military has built a social-security fund that has docked more than \$100 million directly from the pay of enlisted soldiers. Thus any progress made toward negotiations would threaten the military's privileged position within both the government and society.

- There is a widespread fear that any purge of the officers corps would open a Pandora's box, because prosecution against both junior and senior officers for human-rights violations would be stiffly resisted.

Made in America: In the Jesuits' case, Washington has taken a new interest in human-rights violations by the military. Largely for pragmatic reasons, an increasing number of U.S. officials and congressional leaders have also come to support a negotiated settlement. But they have not yet taken into account that the principal obstacle to negotiations is the military institution that they helped to fund and create.

Whether Congress and the Bush administration will ultimately confront this military Frankenstein is an open question. Policymakers should keep in mind that for years U.S. policy has supposedly encouraged cleaning out human-rights abusers and setting up a system of promotion based on ability rather than on length of service and internal cliques. The U.S. also has allegedly sought to separate the security forces from the military command to form a single police force under elected civilian control.

The ongoing argument for not standing up to the military is that to enact such reforms would decapitate the officer corps and fatally weaken the war effort. After 10 years, however, such an argument has been shown to be self-defeating. The result is an officer corps that, on the one hand, is corrupt, inefficient and ineffective at defeating the guerrillas and, on the other, has too many entrenched interests to be willing to negotiate a settlement. □

Frank Smyth is a freelance writer living in El Salvador. He is currently writing a book on U.S. policy and El Salvador to be published by Westview Press.

IN THESE TIMES FEB. 28-MARCH 13, 1990 13

A twisted tale of government spies, guerrillas and double-edged fear of reprisal

The following are excerpts from an interview conducted shortly after the November offensive of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The person interviewed, who will be called Pedro (not his real name), was born in the countryside. He fled to San Salvador in the early '80s because he was being hunted by the army. After the offensive he fled once again, fearing he had been "burned" by being seen as sympathetic to the FMLN.

—Chris Norton

By the time the 11th [of November] came, everyone was saying, "When will it be? Today? Tomorrow?"

... It was around 8:30, and just then the guerrillas appeared in our neighborhood with megaphones. They spread out and began calling on people to take part in the offensive. ...We could hear them knocking on people's doors, saying, "Come on out. It's the FMLN. It's your armed forces, your army, that's come now to join with you to begin a new stage of the struggle."

■ ■ ■
The guerrillas went through our community finding out which people had been in the army, the police, the national guard and all that. ...And what do you think they did? They'd arrive at the house of one of those people, and we'd get a little pallid. They'd knock on the door, and a man would answer from inside, "Who's there?"

"Us, the guerrillas." And when they said that, the man wouldn't come out.

And then they'd say, "Don't worry. We just want to talk with you. And we're going to wait right here till you come out."

And when the man saw that they were insistent, eventually he'd come out—and you can imagine what he looked like. He was pale. And they'd say to him, "Don't worry, we just want to talk with you." And they'd take him off to one side.

His wife and children would be there waiting to see what would happen to him.

And the guerrillas would sit him down and take an hour, an hour and a half to talk with him. We were witnesses because they let the people watch.

... And they went from house to house like that, talking to these former members of the security forces. And it reached a point where these policemen and agents and all these people who used to be in the security forces—you know what they were doing? Digging trenches and carrying food. And they'd hold meetings with their friends and say to them, "Look, the fact is that when we were there in the garrison, our officers told us this and that [about the guerrillas], but now they've shown us that the opposite is the truth."

■ ■ ■
As the people got to know the guerrillas, they began to trust them. ...One day a guerrilla asked a man, "Senor, why are you carrying that child?"

"She has a temperature and she didn't sleep last night."

"Come with me." And the guerrilla would take him to this little field hospital that they'd just set up in the town, and the doctor began to treat the people who were sick.

Before long there was a long line of people—people with diarrhea, with epilepsy, with problems with their nerves, people with so many sicknesses that the doctor hardly had time to take care of the wounded guerrillas. Their guerrilla clinic had become like a local doctor's office. It was amazing.

Eventually the people ... began to see it as *their* community hospital. And they began to bring coffee, food, clothing—things like that—in gratitude. They didn't have any money to give, so they gave the things they had. But the guerrillas said to them, "No, sir," and "No, ma'am. Keep this food for your child."

■ ■ ■
One of the things that really struck us was how *los muchachos* [the phrase used

by many Salvadorans to refer to the guerrillas] had this tremendous capacity, this spirit of sacrifice that none of us had....

For the first two and a half days [the guerrillas] were there in their trenches, without eating or drinking or sleeping. But then the people began to awaken and get over their fear. And they got themselves organized, and after that they brought those poor guys so much food that they couldn't even eat it all.

■ ■ ■
I had lots of neighbors who were speaking badly about the guerrillas for a long time, and guess what happened? When the guerrillas showed up in our neighborhood, the people brought them food and even invited them into their homes and offered them their beds.

We were stunned. We said, if these people are *reaccionaries*, if they're with ARENA, then why are they giving food to the guerrillas? Why are they sending their little girl to the trenches to bring them fruit drinks and coffee and cigarettes? They'd always been saying how they were good friends with the detectives—"I've got a lieutenant in the police, and if I ever have a problem I can call him to help me out."

But maybe they were more intelligent than us. Maybe we have to admit that, you know? Because after *los muchachos* came into our neighborhood, you know what they said to us? "Look, do you know why I said those things? Because if those sons of bitches even suspect for a moment that you support the popular movement, you know what happens to you. I used to live in such and such a place, but these sons of bitches drove us out of there. They killed my father and raped my aunt."

And they kept on, telling us a whole bunch of other things. And imagine, we had endured years of fear, because we thought they were government spies. □

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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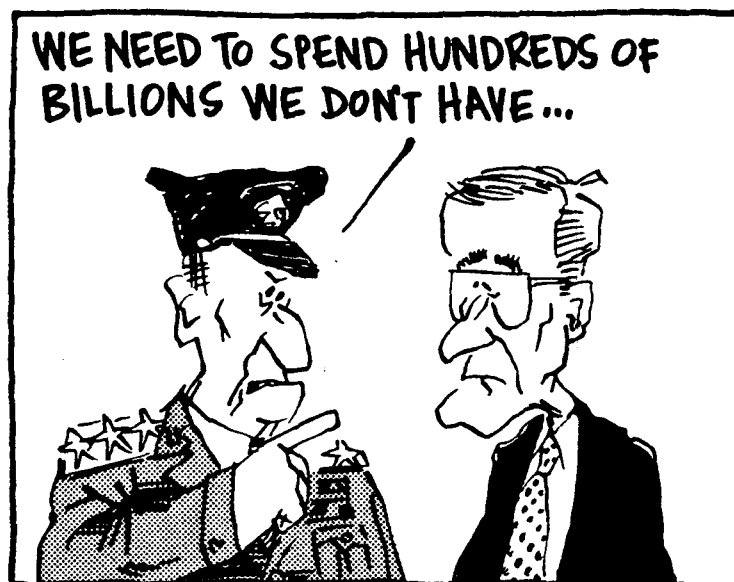
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Bush jousts with media in deception diversion

Two weeks ago, during his hyped anti-drug summit trip to Cartagena, Colombia, President Bush threw a genteel temper tantrum after ABC-TV criticized him for being deceptive. His pique was triggered by the previous night's broadcast that recapped instances in which earlier statements made by Bush had been belied by subsequent events. The most recent example was his announcement on February 12 that it wasn't time for a conference among the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain on the future status of Germany; the very next day Secretary of State James Baker III announced a major agreement on a four-power summit to discuss reunification. ABC-TV also cited two secret missions to China by National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft despite Bush's announcement after the Tiananmen Square massacre that he was barring high-level exchanges between the two countries, as well as Bush's insistence that Scowcroft's trips were "visits," not "exchanges."

That the president has been deceptive is not news: he has been disingenuous on virtually every public issue. His claims that he would be an "education president" and an "environmental president," that the invasion of Panama had something to do with the war on drugs and that his plans to cut capital-gains taxes for his super-rich supporters were simply a means to stimulate the economy have all been patently false. But unlike the discrepancies that ABC-TV pointed out—which were impossible to gloss over, and which therefore made the media look either like partners in deception or like dupes—most of Bush's dissembling has been aided by a subversive journalistic claque. When the president says something that is not embarrassingly false, the media dutifully regurgitates the White House press-office handouts.

This servility has been most insidious in recent weeks in regard to the invasion of Panama, on which we commented three weeks ago, and the administration's double standard in describing its budget proposals. A recent report by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities spelled this out. The administration's budget document proclaims that "the budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending

to protect the environment." But as the center points out, a sizable chunk of that \$2 billion consists of funds that the administration must spend simply to clean up radioactive wastes at government nuclear-weapons plants and reductions proposed for other environmental programs are not subtracted from the \$2 billion in new spending to get a net figure. These reductions include \$200 million in cuts for the Environmental Protection Agency, after inflation is taken into account. Similarly, despite claims of significant increases in spending on education, total proposed funding for the Department of Education is only 1 percent above levels needed to keep pace with inflation.

The administration masks the true nature of its proposals by speaking of social spending in actual dollar terms—ignoring the real decreases caused by inflation—while making claims that military spending is being cut after inflation is taken into account. Throughout Bush's budget document the military spending request is portrayed as a cut, yet if this request were treated in the same manner as the social-spending proposals, the budget would show military appropriations increasing by \$5.2 billion over last year and actual outlays increasing by \$6.9 billion.

This double standard in presenting military spending one way and social spending another is a much more serious breach of the administration's public trust than Bush's evasions about the timing of four-power meetings. Yet the media blithely accept administration budget claims at face value. Every president attempts to use the media for his own purposes, but not all have been as successful as the two most recent ones. Of course, when government policies differ sharply with those of the major media corporations, the media have no problems in exercising their critical faculties.

During the Reagan administration many pundits marveled at the manner in which the White House managed to define what was news and what spin the news should have. But this administration, whose spin control is not in the same league as Reagan's, fares just as well. TV and the press also report its lies and distortions with a straight face.

In Communist countries, where there used to be a one-party political system, the media served the party. Here, where we have a tradition of political pluralism, we have been moving steadily toward a one-party press.

LETTERS

Too much is too much

WHAT FUN, THE DEBATES OF THE IN THESE TIMES letters page! But the aggravation of the January 31 edition was too much to bear silently.

First, Edna Homa Hunt complains about "consistent selectiv[ity]" among Jews and others "in their focus on anti-Semitism." Skipping over the question of why Jews should be especially exercised about anti-Semitism, let's note only that Hunt ignores both intense Jewish involvement in anti-racist work during this century and the many Jewish voices critical of Israeli policy and practice.

More disturbing than her ignorance is Hunt's implicit premise: condemnation of a specific form of racism may be expressed relative to the insulted oppressed group's perceived level of political correctness. That's goddamn appalling.

Next comes Frank Scott to inform us that Louis Farrakhan never said Judaism is a "gutter religion," that this is a non-quote perpetuated by the mass media. Tell it, Frank! But check a reference library first.

Let's quote some theopolitical drool from a tape-recorded transcript of Farrakhan's address of June 24, 1984, as broadcast on WBEE in Chicago:

The Holy Koran charges the Jews with taking the message of God and altering that message and giving the people a book written by their own hands, saying that the book is from God.... [The Jews] fed a corrupted light through this book and were the father of false religions and false religious practices. They cannot be considered the friend of God, doing such evil. ... Now that nation called Israel never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace, because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name.

The gist of Farrakhan's argument that evening was to criminalize Israel because its existence runs counter to Islamic messianism, with only secondary reference to Palestinian nativism.

One atrocious argument, one blind dismissal of evidence. I would laugh heavenward, except I can't seem to. Why?

Joe O'Donovan-Lockard
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Over our heads

WITH AS MANY PROBLEMS AS AMERICAN SOCIALISTS have had with labels, and *In These Times* in particular, you should be far more careful before you lightly throw around the term "New Age" (ITT, Jan. 31). Like the tag "socialism," the term "New Age" encompasses so much and means many things to many people that it has lost any common definition.

What is not lost on some people, however, is that this newspaper, like most of the rest of the Western world, left, right and center, is victim—to use Ivan Illich's term—of the most "radical monopoly" of all, that of rationalism. We are so saturated by the dogma of rationalism that we barely know that alternatives exist as something more than silly superstition.

The essence of much "New Age" belief is that rational thought does not and cannot explain many things that exist in this uni-

verse. Persons attempting to comprehend things beyond our standard methods of comprehension are not to be mocked. They are merely students, scholars or explorers perhaps of another sort.

Why belittle 2,000 to 3,000-year-old Chinese and Indian healing systems merely because opportunistic publishers are scrambling for profits and open-minded consumers are searching for something with more heart than a 100-year-old allopathic system? Why make fun of cabala, ancient goddess religions and Tibetan Buddhism because MIT physicists and Stanford psychiatrists cannot rationalize the influence and affirmative power these beliefs have had and can again have in human lives?

So charlatans are a dime a dozen in these areas. Opportunists are ubiquitous. Conventional religion is full of bogus hypocrites. Politics is often chimera. Scam artists abound in business—the bigger the scam, the more respected the artist. Carpetbaggers and snake-oil peddlers are not uncommon in academia, the arts or sports.

Murray L. Bob's article was contemptuous of all things that fell under his conception of "New Age," i.e., not rational. My suggestion is that if you approach areas beyond your depth, you might be advised to do so with more respect.

Jeff Goll
Durham, N.C.

Intellectual pygmy

MURRAY L. BOB, WHO WROTE THE NEW AGE PUT DOWN (ITT, Jan. 31), has some strange bedfellows. The fundamentalist far right has long been waging a smear campaign against the New Age movement. The propaganda technique is not unlike that of anti-communism: demonize the adversary, then label anything you don't like as "communist."

Particularly in the past year, the anti-New Age movement has been heavily promoting Satanism hysteria. They have been abetted by pseudojournalist Geraldo Rivera's two-hour special, forums on talk shows and a major feature in *Life* magazine, as well as local church and police department seminars all over the country. A prime target has been the wiccan/goddess religions and the related neopagans. When discussing McCarthyism we use the term "witch hunt" metaphorically. Here we are dealing with the real thing, and again people are getting hurt.

The inherent fascism of this should be apparent. One is reminded of Martin Niemöller's statement of how, having been silent when the Nazis came for the Jews, labor leaders and Catholics, there was no one to speak up when they came for him.

We have a definite bind here. Serious New Agers share a number of concerns with the left, particularly peace, world hunger, human rights and ecology. This enables the antis to slap a New Age stigma on progressivism in any form, including radical Christianity. One of the fundamentalists' main objectives has always been to purge Christianity of any trace of liberalism. However uncomfortable it may be, it will not serve the left's best interests to purge the movement of all traces of spirituality, New Age or otherwise.

Bob's piece is shabby journalism in that he makes the faddish and fringe elements of New Age represent the whole. (Maybe he's read too much Tom Wolfe.) It's like judging the '60s New Left by looking only at the radical chic and the Weather Underground. Bob characterizes New Agers as educated but without intellect, yet he ignores the fact that New Age thought has involved such brilliant minds as Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, William Irwin Thompson and Theodore Roszak. Bill Moyers and Joseph Campbell ("blissfully defunct") are gratuitously trashed, but next to them Bob comes off as a pygmy as journalist and intellect respectively.

Elihu Edelson
Tyler, Texas

Favorable trend

I READ "NEW AGE JUST NEW PAGE IN OLD BOOK" (ITT, Jan. 31) with great interest. As a physician in rural Maine trained in traditional Western motif, I do not consider myself a "New Ager." However, I do hold some personal beliefs that many of my colleagues would frown at. Apparently, so would Murray L. Bob.

I believe that individuals in our society fail to take responsibility for themselves, mostly because of lack of self-esteem. Our culture does not applaud our strengths, but it does encourage efforts toward superficial characteristics of appearance and wealth over morals and ethics. It thereby makes us dependent on anyone promising to make us more "acceptable," i.e., via diet and cosmetics.

We cannot have a healthy society without healthy individuals. We cannot be physically healthy while indulging in cigarettes, alcohol and drugs in epidemic proportions. Americans indulge in unhealthy lifestyles, then depend on expensive Western medical technology for longevity and are angry when that cannot be provided. Additionally, we cannot be emotionally healthy while feeling that we do not have inherent self-worth without using the latest cosmetics, driving a Jaguar, etc.

Bob's commentary on the trend of "heal-

ing" fails to recognize the necessity and healthfulness of people examining their own belief systems and dysfunctions and attempting to improve their own lives. Holistic health and "alternative [non-Western] healing" offer individuals much more responsibility and control than does Western medicine. The 12-step programs Bob so cavalierly judges allow troubled people to be in touch with their own feelings without covering them up with food, alcohol, drugs or work. Addictions, to me, are only behaviors that are repeated in spite of negative consequences. Many people remain in an addiction because it allows them to function in our society without the feelings of inadequacy it inherently produces. If Bob does not see addictions as a pervasive part of our society, he either resides in Walden or is hopelessly out of touch. If Bob does not see that the only ones who can change our deleterious lifestyles are ourselves, he contributes to our already misplaced dependency.

Karen Ottenstein, M.D.
Medomak, Maine

Wrong venue

IN HIS ARTICLE "NEW AGE JUST NEW PAGE IN OLD BOOK" (ITT, Jan. 31), Murray L. Bob exhibits all the finesse and pinpoint accuracy of a first-generation fission bomb. Before I continue, let me make it clear that I tend to snicker at crystals and wince visibly when people speak of their past lives. Still, I find Bob's piece repulsive for two reasons. First, he portrays New Age mysticism as an expression of ignorance and irrationality. This can be taken as correct, but only if one is willing to say the same of *all* religion and mysticism. Frankly, New Age seems to me to be a lot more harmless and no more irrational than Christianity/Judaism/Islam, even when adjusted for scale. When the karma crowd starts a holy war/jihad, Bob will have a point. I, for one, am not holding my breath.

The second problem I have with the article is much more serious. In his unrestrained (dare I say irrational?) zeal, Bob includes in his definition of the enemy several valid, empirically proven alternative forms of medicine. Bob, in dismissing chiropractic, acupuncture and even the concept of holistic medicine, proves only that it is his own ability to evaluate what he reads that is suspect. These things, along with his backhanded swipes at ecologists and possibly even homosexuals (the dark side of the psyche "came out of the closet") should have made this slipshod, nasty little diatribe perfect for *Reader's Digest*, not ITT.

Michael Cerkowski
Mechanicville, N.Y.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

INTERVIEW

Give the left a chance, and let Solidarity be just a union

The collapse of state socialism in Eastern Europe and the lifting of the burden of having authoritarian statism associated with "our side" should be cause for celebration by the Western left. Yet the left seems demoralized. Rather than rejoicing in the East European revolutions—and in an end to the Cold War that opens up unprecedented possibilities for socially responsible development—some on the left appear defensive or even hostile. The economic reforms of the new governments in Eastern Europe especially seem to anger such people.

It is no surprise, then, that it has become fashionable in left-wing circles to denounce Lech Walesa. Seen greeting Margaret Thatcher and George Bush and speaking about the need for "capitalism" in Poland, he becomes a nascent reactionary in some eyes. But Walesa is more complex than most give him credit for. While others in Poland were criticizing Western leftists for their "naivete," Walesa extended a special invitation to the leader of the anti-Pinochet labor movement in Chile to be his guest at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in 1983. And today, while many people want to junk the idea of a left altogether, Walesa has come to its defense in a remarkable interview (excerpted below) published on January 27, just days before the Polish Communists split up into two competing social-democratic parties.

To say that Walesa is being cynical ("first he pushes through a devastating market reform and then he calls for a left to counteract it") would be to miss the point. Like most Solidarity leaders, Walesa came to support radical marketization only reluctantly, after the left's program of a self-managing republic was demolished by the imposition of martial law in 1981. The continuing economic crisis afterward soon drove even most of the party leadership to call for the introduction of market mechanisms, for there was no longer a way to subsidize state socialism.

The Western left still seems to misunderstand the reasons why marketization has been so popular in East Europe. East European oppositionists have frequently presented the market as a panacea not because they believe in it (although some, of course, do), but in order to move toward economic reform and to defeat government officials' resistance. The fiercest opponents of marketization in East Europe are the old-line Stalinists who, when they were in power, never cared about workers' living standards. Most workers support calls for market reform,

for they know that forcing party officials to compete with everyone else will only improve their own chances for success. If state intervention facilitates equality in the overly marketized West, the market can aid equality in the overly politicized East. Of course, too much market can create too many inequalities, as Walesa points out in this interview, conducted by Jerzy Baczynski and Marion Turski for the reform Communist weekly *Polityka* and translated by Ewa Hauser.

—David Ost

It was you who decided that Solidarity had to take responsibility for governing the country. Do you still consider this the right decision?

I still consider this the wrong decision—logically and strategically—and yet a necessary one. We had no cadre and no program. My plan was to maintain the agreements of the Round Table [giving the Communists formal control of the state], and to prepare for free elections in four

Lech Walesa takes a long view of Poland's future.

years time. But it didn't work out that way. [After the June 1989 elections that Solidarity candidates won in a landslide,] the people's reaction was: "we won, we voted for you, so take the power."

Any change of a political system in the last 200 years has always been accompanied by terror, revenge, special tribunals, etc. Do you still believe that a peaceful revolution is possible?

So far we have been lucky. What will happen later, I don't know. I would like to close the chapter on the period up to now. Let's avoid retributions and passing judgment for the past 40 years and leave it to the historians to study. But what can we do when the party insists on defending itself? The party bears direct responsibility for the past. Now new people must come forth, people who have the credibility to open a new page for the left, which would not be directly associated with the PUWP [Polish United

Workers Party, the Communists] and its past. Poland needs a strong left. It would be disastrous if only the right existed.

Lech Walesa is calling for a strong left?

A long time ago I said that without the left Poland would be in bad trouble. It's not good to stand on one leg. Just as we need Christian and nationalist parties, so we need socialists, social democrats and even radicals in Poland today. And I would like to build such a left. If, for example, Tadeusz Fiszbach and other party opponents of martial law would create such a leftist party, people would say, all right, he doesn't have to be religious, he's for the left—a left that has supported the idea of coalition government and is not weighed down by its past.

Up to now I have tried to slow down the attacks on the party, waiting to see how it evolves after its congress. If the new party to emerge is a mere continuation of the old one, it would be very difficult for us to work with them. But if they leave the past behind, they will be able to earn a new place for themselves, just as Solidarity has earned its current place.

Do you see yourself on the left?

I don't feel a particular affiliation to the left, but I also dislike the typical Polish restlessness of ours—one day we look to the East, the next day to the West. We used to claim that the entire society was leftist and socialist. Then this was seen as a mistake, and so now we're jumping to the right. I'd like to end this. Polish society has a sizable left, so let us give this left a chance. Our society needs a right, a center and a left that will not simply try to destroy each other. The problem is that the PUWP is in the way. Unless they move, I can't move either. The role and the place of the left is up to them. For now I have to curb the attacks from the right in order to maintain some balance, so that they don't triumph completely and trample everyone else. I would prefer to have both a left and a right—and to help the weaker one so it is not trampled by the other. And that is why I say that the unclear situation in the party makes things difficult, because without the left we will go too far to the right. If the left of the party cannot do something about this,

then the Solidarity left will have to play this role. The next move is up to the party. I am waiting.

Are you saying, then, that it is partly up to the newly forming left to defend the interests of working people?

That is exactly what I'm saying.

Where do you place the trade union Solidarity, on the right or the left?

Wrong question. Let the union be just a trade union, while political parties fight over political orientation.

You recently stated that you are not trying to expand the union right now, since in the present situation a strong union is not desirable. Surprising statement, isn't it?

The philosophy is simple: you don't build a strong union until there are some economic results, or else we perish. Logic dictates that first we have to build a strong economy, and then a strong union movement to make demands. What good would it do to organize 10 million unionists now, when the economic infrastructure first needs to be rebuilt? Many of our large factories need to be broken up. Would a strong union allow this?

In my view, the industrial giants built by socialism need to find new partners with capital from abroad. Half of these giants will fall; half will survive. But about 60 percent of the Polish economy should consist of small businesses. This will require a different kind of trade union, with only a few people in each unit. But 40 percent of the people will still be in the old model.

How do you answer those people who say that now we have prices like in the West with wages like in the East?

I hear such complaints every day now. I tell them, you are right. I am as mad as you are, but what else can be done? Maybe you, too, could be paid like in the West, but where is the money supposed to come from? Do we start a civil war? I tell them that the economic system must force us to work more effectively, not the way we're used to working. I'm convinced that in three months things should start to get better. And if not, I've told the government that I'll go back to the shipyard, jump over the fence and start a strike all over again. But as for all those demagogues who are shouting at us now—let them say how to do it differently.

Some people are saying—and you confirmed this yourself—that a transition to a new system can be achieved only through a strong hand. And immediately the name of Lech Walesa comes to mind, associated with the image of old Marshal [Jozef] Pilsudski. God forbid.

This is a characteristic letter to the editor: "As a one-man, extraconstitutional center of power, Lech Walesa plays the role once played by the Central Committee." **How do you feel in this role?**

Terrible. I don't want to be in this role. It is against my nature. Listen, I already turned down the office of prime minister because I felt I should stay in the reserves. For now I just want to convince society, as I have been convinced, that we have to have patience and try to withstand this stage. If it becomes apparent that it was a mistake, we will fight together.

David Ost will continue to write for *In These Times* from Poland.

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DIALOGUE

By Gordon Lewis

DANIEL LAZARE'S CRITIQUE OF MY ARTICLE on East Germany's communist Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS) (JTT, Jan. 31) is an example of wishy-washy liberalism. Instead of taking the SED to task for wrecking what could have been a potentially successful socialist model, Lazare seems intent on being their apologist. The only way I can explain this is that Lazare, far from the scene, is not acquainted with East German affairs or the tasks of a committed socialist in a period of decline like today. Things must appear so simple and clear-cut from New York City.

Lazare maintains that my article suffers from "cognitive dissonance." But citing the "threat of right-wing radicalism" and its being downgraded to a specter by the SED in one breath is in no way a contradiction. The SED attempted to make an artificial reality out of a potential threat, and by blowing the issue out of proportion made people question whether worries were justified.

Lazare also objects to my pointing to what most observers here acknowledge as the SED's role in the Treptow graffiti incident. Does Lazare have any reason to doubt what is common knowledge in Berlin? Isn't it simply that he doesn't want to hear what he doesn't like? To use Lazare's own Reichstag fire analogy, he wouldn't deny the Nazi's complicity in that action, yet no hard evidence emerged to support the charge.

For the record, some new evidence: is it not odd that after the passionate appeal to

East Germany: missed points and a variety of mangled meanings

combat the forces of right-wing radicalism at the rally in Treptow, the SED was silent once criticism of the event emerged? If the threat was real, why did they fail to defend what they did? The same thing happened a few weeks later when the headquarters of STASI, the state-security force, were stormed. First there was outrage on the part of the party. Then, after complicity in these events had been uncovered, nary another word on the subject. I talked with one man (a member of the United Left, an undogmatic Marxist group and no friend of the right) who was in the front line when STASI was stormed. The party claimed the masses pushed the gate in. My man at the scene reported that the gate was opened from the inside and files were being thrown out of windows before the people had even entered the building. It is also strange that many in the crowd seemed to know exactly where they were going, although the average citizen would never have been inside the complex.

Lazare does not understand that in each European country the problem of the right is different. In East Germany the right on the political stage is equivalent to the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union in West Germany. The far right—the radicals—is unorganized (for the moment, at least). The German far right gained its votes by call-

ing for a united Germany. Now virtually every party has jumped on the reunification bandwagon, deflating the sails of parties like the Republikaners.

As to the United Front, perhaps Lazare is not familiar with its history—it has a very special connotation for students of the workers' movement. In the early '20s the United Front was introduced into German politics by Communists after a series of painful defeats that saw their membership dwindle alarmingly. Seeing themselves becoming

The goal must be not true socialism but new socialism.

progressively isolated, the leadership decided to try to bind itself to the more moderate working-class elements in society in the hope of coopting their organizations. Thus, the main goal of the United Front was not to protect against the right but to control the moderate left. The SED-PDS had exactly the same goal in mind in January.

Lazare's comments on the United Front are one aspect of his need to throw around highfalutin phrases and flaunt a socialist vo-

cabulary he neither attempts to define nor, I believe, could if he wanted to. What are "original pre-Stalinist principles"? War Communism? The NEP? Bukharin's worker-peasant pact? What example of "the old socialist principle of democratic centralization" do we have to return to?

It has always been popular to look at "the good old days" for inspiration. However, as any decent history book will tell you, there never were any "good old days." And there never was any true socialism. Socialism is what was made of it. The goal must be not true socialism but *new* socialism—a break with the tradition of the past and tired phrases. If Lazare is a socialist he should be furious at how a corrupt oligarchy abused a basically human and just philosophy. To apologize for socialism's recent failures by contending that the system we experienced was not "the real thing" is to open doors for all sorts of revisionism: Donald Trump can say that this is not true capitalism in the U.S. and go back to Adam Smith and David Ricardo for help. It is an invitation for neo-Nazis to say that it wasn't true Nazism that Hitler introduced. If it wasn't for his "Jewish thing," which corrupted the theory, it would have been a nice, peaceful ideology.

Finally, it must be pointed out that "in many cases" the right-wing threat was a result of real existing socialism, not "the" result, as Lazare insinuates. Even more aggravating is Lazare's claim that I am "eager to join forces with anyone and everyone against Communists." I did not make any statement to that effect. ■

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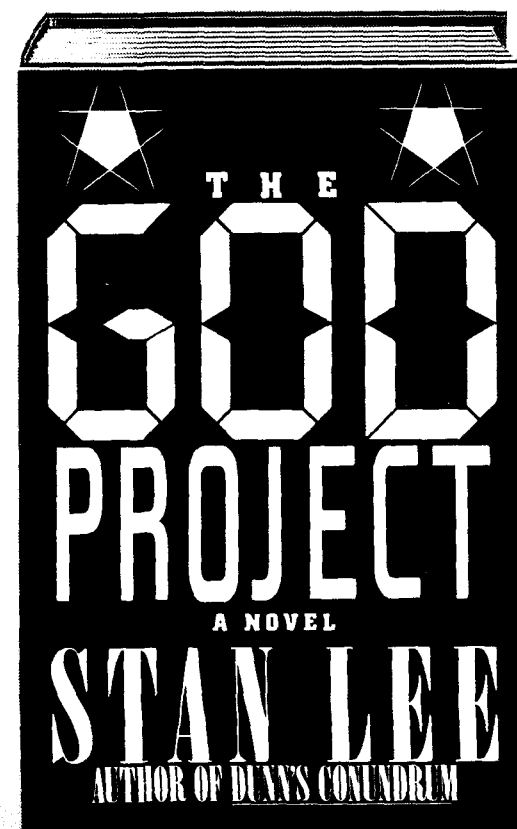
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Book Review

 GROVE WEIDENFELD



IN THESE TIMES FEB. 28-MARCH 13, 1990 17

By Steven Vincent

LAST DECEMBER, WHEN POLICE ejected 280 homeless from a park in Manhattan's Lower East Side, it was the latest action in a bitter conflict tearing this neighborhood apart. Fueled by New York's housing crisis, this conflict has included a police riot, a Hooverville, neofascist "anarchists" and the breakdown of local government. In addition, the crisis has hastened the decay of one of America's most progressive and historic communities.

For more than a century the Lower East Side has sheltered the poor. Born here were the progressive movement, public housing and LBJ's "Great Society." By the late '60s, however, the neighborhood was destitute, losing thousands of apartments to arson and landlord abandonment, while nearly 15 percent of its population fled. Today conditions are no better—burned-out buildings mar dozens of blocks, while crack and AIDS spread seemingly unchecked.

Yet few communities are as integrated as the Lower East Side. Here you'll find Latinos, African-Americans, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, Asians and whitebread Anglos and, mixed among them, artists, punks, skinheads and working-class joes and janes. Yuppies are here, too, pushing up rents, "gentrifying" the neighborhood and causing real-estate developers to salivate with greed.

The neighborhood's current woes began where all these factors traditionally come together—Tompkins Square Park. By June 1988, this half-mile square park was occupied nightly by gangs of youthful revelers attracted by the area's nightlife. Reacting to residents' complaints, Community Board No. 3 (community boards are grass-roots advisory groups to city agencies, with limited local powers) voted to uphold the midnight curfew regulating all city parks. On the night of Aug. 6, 1988, police entered the park to enforce the curfew and were met by a group of punks, skinheads and self-proclaimed "anarchists." Soon all hell broke loose.

The Tompkins Square Park Riot lasted until dawn. When it was over, 450 police officers—many of them had taped over their badge numbers—had arrested and/or assaulted scores of people. One man, simply walking home, was hospitalized after cops attacked him with night sticks. Others were dragged out of restaurants and cafes and beaten. Civilians filed more than 100 complaints of police brutality. Six officers were eventually charged; none was convicted.

Community reaction was confused. Community Board No. 3 (CB3) released a statement, retracted it and released a second. With many officials gone for the summer, the neighborhood was rudderless. Yet the streets seethed with anger to-



A homeless man was one of many put out of Tompkins Square Park as shanties were removed in December.

On the edge: the lowdown on New York's Lower East Side

ward the police. Somebody had to do something. Somebody did.

Anarchy in NYC: Mostly middle-class, white and male, the "anarchists" had disrupted CB3 meetings for months. Their demands were simple—a halt to gentrification and the opening of abandoned buildings for squatters and the homeless. The

The neighborhood's current woes began where a variety of factors traditionally come together—Tompkins Square Park.

anarchists were disorganized and gaffe-prone (they had once opposed the construction of senior-citizen housing by arguing that "old people are going to die soon, so what's the big deal?") Until the riot they had been largely ineffective.

Now they mobilized in full force, capturing the attention of the press. Gentrification had caused the riot, they claimed, not skinheads trashing Tompkins Square. Yuppies had demanded the curfew, not community residents. And the whole thing had started when cops tried to throw a

small group of homeless out of the park.

The neighborhood fell in line. Intimidated by the anarchists and fearful of the police, residents and community leaders previously supporting the curfew recanted. They called for the park to be open "24 hours a day" and for an end to "police harassment of the homeless." Few dissented. One who did, CB3 member Krystyna Piorkowska, says, "It was difficult for people to realize that supporting the curfew did not mean condoning illicit police actions." Others feared appearing anti-homeless. As revelers returned to Tompkins Square (Mayor Ed Koch had immediately rescinded the curfew), one fact was clear: no one—not CB3, not the police and certainly not residents of the Lower East Side—was in control of the park.

There were homeless men and women living in Tompkins Square—about 125 of them, according to CB3 records. In the dilapidation of the park, few people noticed them. Those who did were generally sympathetic. New York's shelter system is a Dickensian nightmare of drugs, assaults, theft and boredom—no one begrudged a few homeless people finding safety in the park. Even the police had promised not to disturb them. But that was all forgotten after the riot. Now the anarchists contended that the curfew was part

of a "war on the poor"; forcing the homeless out of the park was "genocide."

Arrested development: Further inciting passions were the burned-out buildings scarring the neighborhood. With 90,000 homeless in New York, anarchists and others asked, why aren't those buildings being restored? Many blamed CB3. Proud of having fended off real-estate developers, CB3 had long ago surrendered its independence to the Lower East Side Joint Planning Council (JPC), an umbrella group of non-profit housing agencies formed in 1968. For years the JPC has used CB3 to further its own policies—in particular the Cross Subsidy Plan, an intricate program to sell property to real-estate developers and build low-income housing with the proceeds.

But many observers believe that this plan actually discourages development. "Under a different plan, we could have rehabilitated those buildings years ago," says Piorkowska. "The JPC controls the disposition of vacant lots and buildings and thereby perpetuates the lack of affordable housing in the neighborhood." Worse, because of bureaucratic turf wars between various agencies, new construction projects have actually been voted down by the JPC-dominated community board.

Seizing this issue, the anarchists

grew bolder. "We're taking the battle for the homeless to the community board," claimed anarchist John Squat. "They've let those buildings rot." In meetings, anarchists muttered threats against board members, calling them "traitors" and "collaborators." In November 1988, they rolled in tires painted with the names of members who supported a curfew, alluding to the South African tactic of ringing the necks of government "collaborators" with burning tires. A few months later they threw bags of dog feces at the board's chairwoman. Anyone denouncing the anarchists' tactics or favoring a curfew was shouted down with cries of "Yuppie scum!" Meetings grew so chaotic that the police were repeatedly called in to restore order. "No housing, no peace!" the anarchists cried, and they meant it.

Meanwhile, a radio station exhorted homeless to move into Tompkins Square and for people to bring them wood, tenting material and other supplies. Soon nearly 280 men and women formed a modern-day Hooverville of shanties, tents and open-air cooking pits. This influx might be difficult for any community to bear, but for the Lower East Side—with already a dozen homeless facilities—it proved a disaster. Portable toilet units overflowed. Garbage mounted. Needles littered the playgrounds. Two people overdosed. A tent was torched. And the police, remembering community outrage over the riot, adopted a "hands off" policy.

Yet CB3 still rejected a curfew. And without a curfew, the police and parks departments refused to act. As Parks Department official Jack Linn

stated, "Without a curfew demonstrating public support, it's difficult to justify spending time on Tompkins Square." When asked why she voted against the curfew, a board member—and a founder of the JPC—replied, "How can I vote for a curfew with homeless living in the park?" Susan Leelike, former director of a tenants advocacy group, sees another explanation. "Those voting against the curfew," she says, "want people to stay in the park and not

and addresses printed in local papers, which in the overheated neighborhood atmosphere could have proven dangerous. Others appearing too yuppie were taunted and attacked with eggs. Alarmed residents gathered privately to discuss the situation. A group of these dissidents, frustrated by the intransigence of local officials, formed the Tompkins Square Park Neighborhood Coalition and began a letter campaign to force the city to restore order in the neighborhood. "We felt our community leaders were unwilling to address problems in the park," explains Sam Turvey, one of the founders of the coalition, "and even more disturbing, unwilling to actively solicit the feelings of people living around the park."

At the end of October, more than 100 people attended a meeting of CB3's parks committee to complain about conditions in Tompkins Square. People who had never attended a grass-roots meeting before shouted at board members to do something about the park. "You're abandoning us and our children," a woman cried. Another exclaimed, "We're not heartless yuppies—we're mothers with children. I can't go into that park without being harassed. The police are not enforcing the law. The place is knee-deep in excrement. What is wrong with this neighborhood?"

Other claimed that the homeless living in the park now were not "real homeless" but drug addicts and dealers. Board members listened—minutes of the meeting state flatly that "the community is in favor of a curfew and 'that all existing laws be enforced' in Tompkins Square Park."

Democracy inaction: It was now on public record. A curfew seemed inevitable. Three days later a full board meeting commenced that would vote once again on the issue. Anarchists and homeless packed the tiny room, covering the walls with huge banners. Police waited tensely outside. Minutes of the meeting describe what happened next:

The large unruly group from Tompkins Square Park, who opposed the park curfew, burned the American flag and park flag before meeting commenced. In the process



Lower East Side squatters, in a protest last July, defend a tent city set up by the homeless.

of burning, parts of new floor at Al Smith Recreational Center were destroyed. They were disruptive, abusive, chanted obscenities, blew whistles, threw eggs at people sitting on the dais and at community residents. Audience members begged the police for assistance in stopping the verbal abuse, physical threats and pot smoking. Protesters disrupted the public session for almost three-quarters of an hour.

When the dust settled, CB3 had once again rejected a curfew on Tompkins Square. Through an act of parliamentary legerdemain, the vote occurred before the parks committee could make a report. The mothers who had spoken out so strongly three nights before—who braved the intimidating atmosphere of this meeting—left the hall in tears.

But the tide for the anarchists and the homeless in Tompkins Square Park had already turned. After receiving a steady stream of mailings from Turvey's coalition, along with at least three petitions totaling thousands of names and complaints from children unable to use the park, Mayor-elect David Dinkins acted. On December 14—one of the coldest days in recent memory—police and parks department personnel tore down Tent City and evicted the

homeless. It was anticlimactic. Having been warned for days, many of the homeless had already packed their belongings. The only disturbances were a few tents torched in protest. Because the park still had no curfew, some homeless returned to light fires to warm themselves. Tompkins Square Park is still the only park in New York City that has no curfew and in which open fires are allowed.

The damage to the neighborhood was severe. "For two years people with children have been afraid to use the park," Piorkowska says. "For two years this issue has drained the energy of the community board." Moreover, insurance rates around the park have risen as much as 50 percent since the riot, and area stores and restaurants have experienced a steady loss of business.

The controversy has also set back the JPC's Cross Subsidy Plan. Last

October, Crain's New York Business reported that a "weak housing market and the deterioration of Tompkins Square Park have dampened private-sector interest in the area, raising questions about the [Cross Subsidy] program's funding assumptions." The battle for affordable housing on the Lower East Side may have helped make the creation of that housing nearly impossible.

Today the park is quiet. Instead of tents and lean-tos, one finds cyclone fencing and large park department signs announcing a \$2,000,000 renovation of the area. Scrawled across these signs, however, are the graffiti "Die, yuppie scum" and "Burn baby burn." Clearly, for community residents, grass-roots officials and anarchists—as well as the homeless caught in the middle—the battle for Tompkins Square Park is far from over.

Steven Vincent is a writer living on New York's Lower East Side.

NEW YORK

go into the JPC's empty buildings. They're afraid people will successfully squat those buildings."

Worse than World War II? By spring 1989, the grass-roots government on the Lower East Side was in disarray. Protests disrupted CB3 meetings. Police refused to enforce laws in the park. A subcommittee organized by CB3 to investigate the riot was stacked with anarchists and their allies. These people, as Piorkowska wrote in a CB3 minority report, "dissuaded legitimate residents from attending task-force meetings and expressing their concerns and desires." Nor would city government help. In the midst of a mayoral election neither candidate wanted to touch this explosive issue.

That summer the neighborhood hit bottom. "I lived through World War II," said one Ukrainian woman living near the park, "but this is worse." On July 4 a second riot nearly erupted when police halfheartedly attempted to dismantle "Tent City." Thugs, undercover cops and right-wing skinheads roamed the streets. A pro-homeless advocate was mugged by "homeless" in the park. A man who often fed the Tent City dwellers murdered his roommate a block away from the park and confessed to eating parts of her corpse.

Meanwhile, anarchists harassed critics with late-night phone calls or ridiculed them in their anonymous newspaper, *The Shadow*. Piorkowska, for instance, was mocked and spat on by anarchists near the park.

Intimidation increased. People forming petitions to clean up Tompkins Square found their names

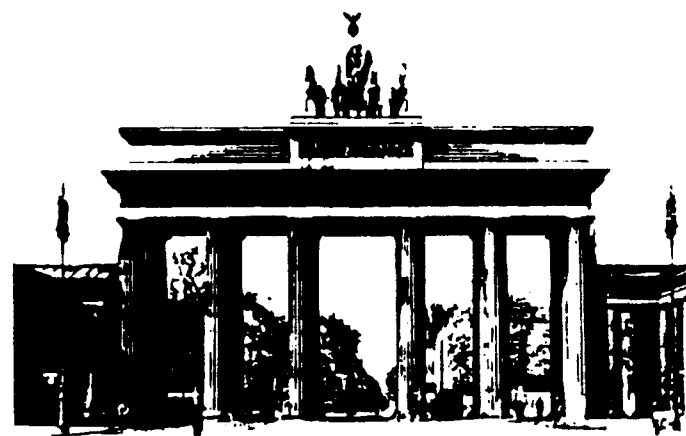
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Fellow Traveller
Directed by Philip Saville
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By Ben Harris

Hollywood blacklist's psycho-history

AMONG HOLLYWOOD LEFTISTS, the post-World War II anti-Communist purge replaced wartime optimism with suspicion, distrust and scapegoating. Politically, this change could be attributed to clearly defined enemies: congressional witch-hunters and informants, anti-Communist studio heads and the blacklists that ended careers and drove

TELEVISION

writers underground. Psychologically, even darker forces were at work as the government's campaign produced more destructive, internalized enemies: self-doubt, paranoia and depression.

Film audiences in recent years have learned of the personal costs paid by those who stood up to blacklisting thanks to documentaries such as *Seeing Red* and fact-based feature films such as Martin Ritt's *The Front*—in which Zero Mostel plays a comedian who commits suicide rather than turn informant. Now, in a new film premiering March 4 on HBO, an even darker, psychologically troubling view of this period is given a sympathetic, historically detailed treatment.

Film noir buddy picture: *Fellow Traveller*, co-produced by HBO and the British Film Institute, is a paranoid McCarthy-era film noir buddy picture. Asa Kaufman (played by Ron Silver) is a Communist screenwriter who flees to London in 1954 before he can be subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) for their second round of Hollywood inquisition. Blacklisted at home and staying on a tourist visa, the only work he can find is writing Robin Hood scripts for children's television, using a disolute British writer as a front.

Soon Kaufman is stunned to hear of the suicide of his best friend, the actor Cliff Byrne (played by Hart Bochner). In contrast to Kaufman's behind-the-scenes politics and worries about his career, Byrne had been a prominent and optimistic anti-fascist in Hollywood. When Kaufman left for London, his friend had already been called to testify and was an uncooperative witness before HUAC. He had survived that ordeal with defiance and good humor. He was not the type to kill himself.

To solve the mystery of his friend's suicide, Kaufman searches his own memory of their Hollywood collaboration and seeks the help of Sarah Aitchinson (played by Imogen Stubbs), a British peace activist who had been Cliff's companion in Hollywood. When the mail brings her Cliff's suicide note asking for forgive-

ness for an unspecified act, the mystery deepens and *Fellow Traveller* begins to explore the issues of political loyalty, betrayal and responsibility.

Most of this exploration is done through flashbacks from 1954 London to Kaufman's memories of the days when he wrote anti-fascist hero roles with Cliff as the star. But then, as the loyalty investigations begin, the flashbacks also reveal a recurring nightmare that gave Kaufman a "writer's block the size of the Washington Monument." Seeking relief, Kaufman tries psychotherapy, something that he had previously dismissed as "totally un-Marxist," offering only "bourgeois solutions to bourgeois problems."

Again through a series of flashbacks, we meet Jerry Leavy, the Communist Party-approved psychotherapist that Kaufman shared with his friend and dozens of other Hollywood Reds. Played by Daniel J. Travanti as a cool and intelligent political operator, Leavy becomes the film's sinister force as Kaufman begins to suspect that the FBI spent years listening at his therapist's keyhole.

This twisted plot—which turns again at its end—is easy to follow

on film. This clarity springs from Michael Eaton's compelling script and the strong direction of Philip Saville—known to cable TV audiences for his prizewinning *Mandela* and to PBS viewers for his *Life and Loves of a She-Devil*. Saville's flashbacks alternate between two worlds not easily confused: a cold, wet, mid-'50s London and a sunny, war-time Hollywood—with plenty of production money and political energy to go around. (Is it any surprise that when we see the filming of Kaufman's imaginary television world of Sherwood Forest, it also turns out to be warm and full of happy, energetic anti-fascists?)

Robin Hood, the Nazi killer: When *Fellow Traveller* opened in London in January it received high praise, with the *London Observer* calling it "one of the most politically sophisticated, visually imaginative British pictures of the past decade." Critics were impressed by its evocation of post-war British life, including narrow morality and governmental surveillance of dissidents and foreigners.

They were also entertained by the Robin Hood TV series—the plot of which changes as Kaufman works through his political and emotional

conflicts. For example, in one scene a vengeful Robin Hood skewers the sheriff of Nottingham while making a World War II "take that, you Nazi" speech—rather than releasing him in the style of good children's television.

Developing this "play within a play" with humor and style, *Fellow Traveller* transcends its setting and becomes a memorable portrayal of the psychopolitics of movie making, told from a writer's point of view. For U.S. audiences with an interest in McCarthyism and the Hollywood left, Eaton's screenplay is notable for its wealth of biographical detail. The character Cliff Byrne, for example, is loosely based on the actor John Garfield, who testified before HUAC, refused to be an informant and died of a heart attack at age 39.

The pink shrink fink: The film's Jerry Leavy is based on Garfield's therapist, E. Philip Cohen, who was

***Fellow Traveller*: a '50s history that becomes a memorable psychopolitics of movie making told from a writer's point of view.**

a very real presence in Southern California after World War II and whose patient list read like a Who's Who of the Hollywood left. Cohen, who parlayed his psychology master's degree and shortlived Communist Party membership into a position as party-approved therapist, was eventually denounced as an FBI collaborator, as one after another of his patients cooperated with HUAC's mid-'50s hearings.

In drafting the character of Asa Kaufman, screenwriter Eaton has again borrowed from real life, combining details from the careers of Ring Lardner Jr. and Alvah Bessie, both members of the Hollywood Ten. According to *Radical Innocence*, a recent study of the Ten, the British Robin Hood series was ghost-written by Lardner and Ian McLellan Hunter (also blacklisted) while both authors remained in the U.S. Its success not only helped Lardner and Hunter pay their bills but brought Robin Hood to U.S. television from 1955 to 1958, where it was childhood fare for the generation that radicalized in the '60s.

In giving Kaufman a psychologically troubled side—and a troubling therapist—*Fellow Traveller* has borrowed freely from the life of Bessie, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War. In his autobiography, *Inquisition in Eden*, Bessie describes trying the party-approved therapist for the same reason as the film's protagonist: he suffered from writer's block. What the film changes, however, is the nightmare causing Bessie's block.

Envious of his wife's greater success as a writer, Bessie reports dreaming that he had heard from some comrades that she was sleeping with an FBI agent. In *Fellow Traveller* this dream gets an ultra-Freudian rewrite and becomes a 10-year-old Asa's discovery of his mother having sex with a machine-gun-toting government agent. Although one of the film's weaker scenes, it does provide Asa's mother with a memorable sexual-political line ("Don't shoot, G-man!"). It also adds another layer of betrayal to the plot, as a Communist is subverted by his dreams, which sneak in Freudian content that he had previously denounced as politically incorrect.

Later the screenplay takes further historical liberties in its emotionally rousing but farfetched climax. In addition, the film's credits fail to acknowledge the direct lifting of dialogue from *Inquisition in Eden* and of general plot detail from Victor Navasky's *Naming Names*. Although the characters ultimately lose some of their warmth and human complexity, in the end *Fellow Traveller* remains an engrossing dramatization of political loyalty and betrayal. ■
Ben Harris is a research fellow at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and is writing a history of psychology and the left.

Ron Silver plays a blacklisted screenwriter in HBO's *Fellow Traveller*.



By Pat Aufderheide

See it, wear it

Haven't you just been waiting for your chance to buy a *Star Trek* mug? Well, how about a *Nova* T-shirt? As movie studios have become part of huge entertainment conglomerates, they have also become across-the-board vendors. Now they're speeding up circulation in the product loop with catalogues pushing everything from jackets to lava lamps and teddy bears, hyping programs and the studio. And public TV, ever in search of spare change, is following in the big guys' footsteps with an ever-so-upscale catalogue of its own.

No, it just looks like advertising

Meanwhile, public TV finds it harder and harder to distinguish itself from other options on your dial, especially for cable viewers. But at least it's advertising-free, right? Well, sort of. What public TV has instead is underwriting—but not enough of it. Recently KCET, the Los Angeles producing station, took out a desperate ad in *Advertising Age* magazine. A pseudo-personal for its comedy series *Trying Times*, the ad read, in part, "Bright, witty, intelligent, exciting ... seeks a very smart corporate or product sponsor that needs a unique way of delivering its message to an urban, upscale audience." (It didn't work—the series was cancelled.) Of course, when public TV officials go to another major funding source—Congress—they deny that their audience is "upscale," stressing through statistical massage its broad cross-demographic appeal.

Video sex

When VCRs were still new, pornography was major programming. Then a wealth of video options—flourishing with a broad market—undercut porno's primacy. But it may be gaining ground again. *Variety* reports that hard-core pornography accounts for as much storefront business as children's video—about 20 percent. Sales were up in 1989, too, despite legal attacks from local authorities (many times prompted by fundamentalist organizations) and by the U.S. National Obscenity Enforcement Unit, a Justice Department team. The unit resulted from the 1986 Meese Commission report on pornography. (The report, which linked pornography and violence, was widely ridiculed in legal and academic circles for its pseudoscientific conclusions but was enthusiastically endorsed by fundamentalists.) Booming sales, in light of this pressure, suggest that this crusade may be one that the administration is losing. It also suggests that pornography may be one of the few areas where marketplace forces provide for the much-vaunted diversity of programming so touted for new technologies.

Video gas pumps

After invading department stores and fast-food restaurants, the video monitor programmed with ads is moving into a whole new area: gas station pumps. Texaco pumps will be the first to boast the displays, which blast out around 10 commercials per fill-up.

Turtlemania

The latest example of media crossfeeding comes with the imminent release of *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, the movie. The turtles (which started out life as a comic book, became TV cartoon characters and a host of trinkets) are taking their adventure in commoditydom to another level. The movie characters are licensed to 175 companies around the world, and you'll be seeing them on T-shirts, posters, bumper stickers, cereal boxes, MTV, TV commercials for pizza and brandished on selected brands of pork rinds, yogurt and cookies.

Barbieman

The Barbie doll may yet make the Turtles' crossfeeding efforts look pint-sized. Barbie's corporate father, Mattel, which knows her as "Billion Dollar Barbie," is gearing up for a massive consumer assault using the Barbie name. For the younger generation, Barbie will now come with electronic accessories such as pom-poms that generate stadium crowd noises and a rock-star microphone with sound effects. The child who has everything can now buy a porcelain Barbie for \$200. But the big news is in the people-sized accessories: bedsheets, stationary, backpacks, trading cards, cosmetics and kids' clothes. There will also be special high-priced designer Barbie editions. And those nostalgic for simpler days and dolls might note that a mint-condition vintage Barbie sells for \$3,000.

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Graham Parker: a new album with the same old kick.

Parker's soul and the rock of rages

Human Soul
Graham Parker
RCA Records

By Mark G. Judge

IN 1977 THE LOS ANGELES TIMES SAID of Graham Parker, "He has the kind of bold artistic promise to make even the most disheartened cynic believe rock can matter again." Back then people were a lot angrier, especially in London, and Parker's early albums with his former band, the Rumour (particularly *Howlin' Wind* and *Heat Treatment*), gnashed their teeth on Britain's club circuit with the best and the brightest of the angry young men.

Parker was exceptional at the time, though, because his literate, funny songs provided an alternative to all the piss-off punk yodding and the bogus anarchy. Parker gleaned some of the explosive frustration from the scene, though, and became a unique oxymoron: a traditional rocker with an edge.

Roots, rock, rebels: Parker is one of the few survivors of the kinetic new wave movement of the late '70s/early '80s, when amateurism was the rule and bands came, conquered and crashed under the weight of their own nihilism. Elvis Costello is another survivor, and both he and Parker passed through the wreckage because of their seemingly limitless talent for penning memorable pop songs, their remarkable live shows and their strong commitment to American soul and the new wave's rebellious roots. (Costello's a virtuoso live, and if you haven't had a chance to catch Parker pick up last year's *Live! Alone in America*.) Both are capable of writing lyrics that make their contemporaries look like amateurs.

Human Soul, Parker's 12th album,

runs the gamut of musical styles from soul to punk to reggae to meat-'n'-potatoes rock'n'roll. Although it sounds as freewheeling as an impromptu jam session, the disc hangs together beautifully; he still sounds like the rebel-in-love who wowed critics more than 10 years ago. If he's too old to rock'n'roll, then so is Little Richard.

The first side, or "real" side, is more traditional, kicking things off with the funky bebop of "Little Miss Understanding." The lyrics are child-

MUSIC

ishly simple ("When I've got a cloud over the sun/ You've got an umbrella," etc.), which is fine, because most great pop songs could have been written by 10-year-olds ("Bus Stop," "She Loves You," etc.). The important thing is that it's got a real groove; Parker knows that the promise of this music is to provide catharsis for the hips as well as the mind—you know, if I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution.

And if I can't get some lovin', forget the whole thing. The ballads "My Love's Strong" and "Call Me Your Doctor" are typical British white-bread emulations of soul. But Brits have always been better at it than we have because while our suburban kids were listening to Led Zeppelin, they were shakin' their thang to Otis Redding and Al Green. (Simply Red's gorgeous hit "It's Only Love" is an old Barry White B-side.) The only really bland effort on the real side is the crippled reggae of "Soultime." It has a pretty chorus, but Parker crowds it out with awkward and unnecessary reminiscences about his days as Young Codger in London.

On side two, or the "surreal" side, Parker, as we say in Washington, goes ballistic. The first five songs all

run together and last about two minutes each—a punk medley?—with Parker in the foreground moanin' and gripin' about just about anything and everything that's on his mind, from random violence and inexplicable tragedy ("Everything Goes") to Ramone-esque goofiness ("Sugar Gives You Energy") to AIDS ("Green Monkeys"); "Whatever they say It isn't true what they say It didn't come from the gays or the blacks, the Haitians or the whores' Or green monkeys."

Beemers and boomers: Yet the *pièce de résistance* follows the barrage of the surreal side's first five songs. If, as some are predicting, the '90s will bring a new era of earnest, honest rebellion, then Parker has written the decade's first truly great anti-yuppie anthem, "You Got the World (Right Where You Want It)." The backlash to the yuppie ethic has always been vocal and mean-spirited, but Parker takes our frustration one step further by subtly—and stunningly—indicting what all those power ties and BMWs have always stood for—the commoditization of everything, including people:

As you wash your hair

And bathe in Perrier

As you hit the bank machine at night

Drinkin' money for tomorrow's flight

As you count your loss

Or bet on a black horse

Sit behind the wheel of a black Porsche

Use your leather organizer with your name embossed

The night is thick with frost

It chills your heart

Those of us deadbeats who have elicited embarrassed stares from the white-collar world for the unreserved (and often public) jubilation we naturally feel when we hear songs like this have always known that rock'n'roll is incompatible with the heartlessness of the business world. All of those non-sexual, dysfunctional bastards listening to the Fine Young Cannibals during their dreary commutes might believe their hipness expands with their CD collections, but they'll never realize squat (Graham knows Diddley) unless they look themselves in the mirror and try to answer the questions Parker raises. "You got the world/ Right where you want it," he sings. "Where do you want/ Where do you want the world?/ You got the girl/ Right where you want her/ But where do you want/ Where you you want the girl?"

It's the kind of thing Eric Clapton should be doing instead of selling beer, and of course it should be a huge hit but probably won't be. But Parker has never lived and died by the top 40 anyway. Sure, he's older, but he's still angry and he has integrity to burn. One of our last great rock'n'roll singers, he's never been interested, as he sings elsewhere on *Human Soul*, in "dancing for money."

Mark G. Judge is a Washington, D.C.-area writer.

Milk

Continued from page 6

of all BGH-derived products was defeated narrowly by the Senate in January. Five rural Republicans, feeling heat from dairy farmers following the rancorous statewide debate, however, are now introducing a moratorium bill. Despite heavy lobbying and public-relations spending by BGH manufacturers, distribution of test milk there already has been effectively blocked and co-ops and dairy processors have had to promise not to use it in the face of consumer and farmer demand.

Rep. Peter Smith (R-VT) also has introduced moratorium legislation in the nation's capital, and Madeline Kunin, Vermont's governor, has called for a moratorium at the state level. On February 15, the Student Assembly at Cornell University, one of the country's leading land-grant agricultural colleges, voted to bar the distribution of BGH

test milk on campus.

Some dairy farmers have challenged the performance claims made for BGH, arguing that intensified veterinary and other management techniques used during tests account for many of the production increases so far achieved. In that case, BGH just might fail in its commercial introduction market test. If dairy farmers won't buy it, the companies will merely have lost millions in research, development and public-relations dollars.

But BGH could work as advertised. Promoters of the synthetic hormone predict the FDA will approve it within a year. If so, the types of coalitions now acting nationally and in states like Wisconsin will continue to seek political means to doom the drug to failure—a first step in reshaping this country's food system. □

Brian Ahlberg is communications coordinator for the National Family Farm Coalition.

C A L E N D A R

NEW YORK

March 1-4

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
THE SOCIAL VISION OF THE LEFT GREENS—Wayne Price and Martha Herbert; Thursday, March 1; 8 p.m.; \$5.

THE HISTORY OF CORPORATIONS—performance by Zone West; Friday, March 2; 8 p.m.; Saturday, March 3; 8 p.m.; and Sunday, March 4; 2 p.m.; \$6 each performance.

SEEING IS NOT BELIEVING: A MEDIA WORKSHOP FOR TEENAGERS—Barbara Osborn; Saturdays beginning March 3; 4 sessions; Noon-1:30 p.m.; \$20.

FEMME VITALE—art opening; Sunday, March 4; 6-9 p.m.; Free.

All events take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 941-0332.

March 16

NICARAGUA IN THE 1990s, a post-election analysis with Paul Berman, *Village Voice* writer; John Weeks, professor of international politics and economics at Middlebury College, Vermont; and a representative of the Nicaraguan government, at Hunter College, 615 West Building, 68th and Lexington Ave., southwest corner. Suggested donation \$5 (to benefit humanitarian aid projects in Nicaragua). Sponsored

by the New York Nicaragua Solidarity Network. Call (212) 674-9499 for more information.

April 6-8

THE 8TH ANNUAL SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE, *Democratic Upheavals and the End of the Cold War*, at Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY, 199 Chambers St. (near Trade Center). The conference features many guest speakers and participants from left publications, political organizations and alternative groups. For information and registration contact: R.L. Norman, Jr., CUNY Democratic Socialists Club, Room 800, 33 West 42nd St., New York, NY 10036, (212) 996-4366.

SAN FRANCISCO

March 3-4

"OUTWRITE 90," the First National Lesbian and Gay Writers Conference sponsored by OUT/LOOK magazine begins at 8:30 a.m. at the Cathedral Hill Hotel, located at Van Ness and Geary Avenues. Allen Ginsberg and Judy Grahn are among the many featured speakers. Panels and workshops include: the novel, poetry, non-fiction, genre fiction, the cross-over book, AIDS and the writer's responsibility, the economics of publishing, erotic writing, how to deal with writer's block, what sells, writing in the closet, censorship, how to give a good reading, and many more. Register NOW! For more information: OUT/LOOK—Conference, 2940 16th St., Suite 319, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 626-7929.

CHICAGO

March 9

"Feminism and the Family in the 1990s," a Solidarity Forum with Stephanie Coontz, professor of history at Evergreen State University, member of Solidarity and author of *Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families 1600-1900*; 7 p.m., Schmidt Academic Center, Room 154, DePaul University, 2323 N. Seminary, (312) 275-8937.

March 16

"RATTLE YOUR RAGE" exhibit at Chicago Filmmakers opens on March 16, with the film "FREEDOM IN BREMEN," and panel on Women's Violence Against Their Oppression. At Chicago Filmmakers, 1229 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 281-8788.

MINNEAPOLIS

March 9-11

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DENVER

March 23-24

THE ENVIRONMENTAL AND HEALTH LEGACIES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION. Physicians for Social Responsibility's National Meeting will examine the radioactive and toxic threats to our health and environment caused by years of nuclear weapons production. Speakers include Bernard Lown, M.D.; Alice Stewart, M.D.; and Charles Clement, M.D.. Norman Cousins is the recipient of the 1990 PSR award. For more information contact PSR, 1000 16th St. NW, #810, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 785-3777.

WASHINGTON, DC

March 24

Commemorate the assassination of Archbishop Romero and March to End the U.S. War in Central America. Assemble at 11 a.m. and march from the U.S. Capitol to the White House. A rally will be staged at the White House, followed by non-violent civil disobedience. Marches will also take place in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Austin, Texas. Co-sponsored by CISPES, SANE/Freeze, Nicaraguan Network, Pledge of Resistance, U.S. Student Association, United Church of Christ, Pax Christi USA, National Rainbow Coalition and many others. For more information, call (202) 265-0890, 328-4040 or 223-2328.

INDIANA, PA

April 19

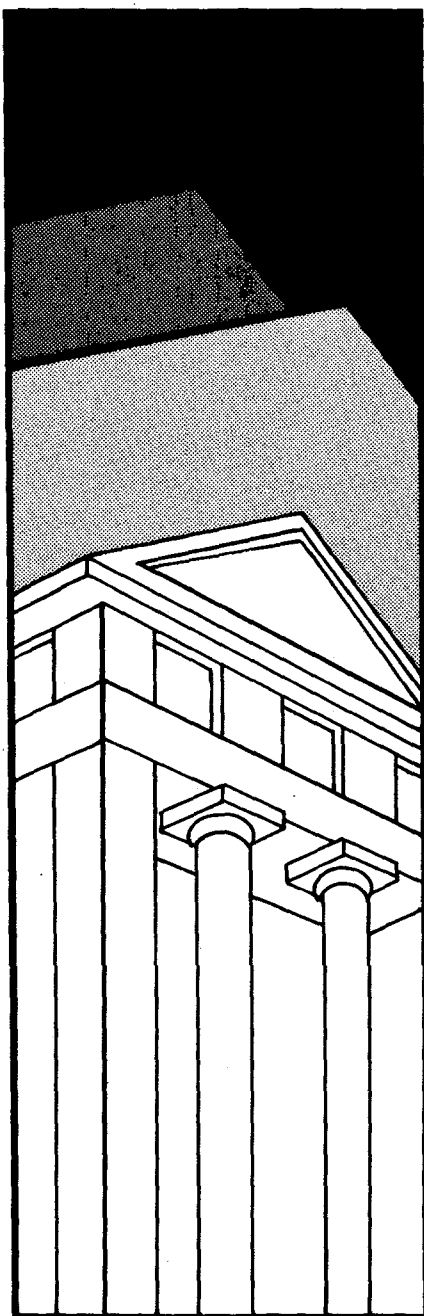
Second Annual Provost's Mini-Symposium, THE DAWNING OF A NEW ERA? Speakers are Norman Hodges, Dennis Brutus, Georgina Ashworth, Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly and Kevin Reilly. Contact: Irwin Marcus, History Department, IUP, Indiana, PA 15705, (415) 357-2237 or 2284.

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JEWISH CURRENTS, February 1990 issue. "Black-Jewish Relations, 1990," editorial; "Reconciliation for America," Jesse Jackson; "Freedom Is a Long, Long Struggle," Cheryl Greenberg; "Pollard: A Jewish Spy Story," Harold Tickin. Single issue: \$2 plus 75¢ post.

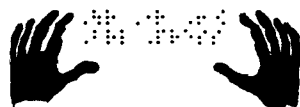
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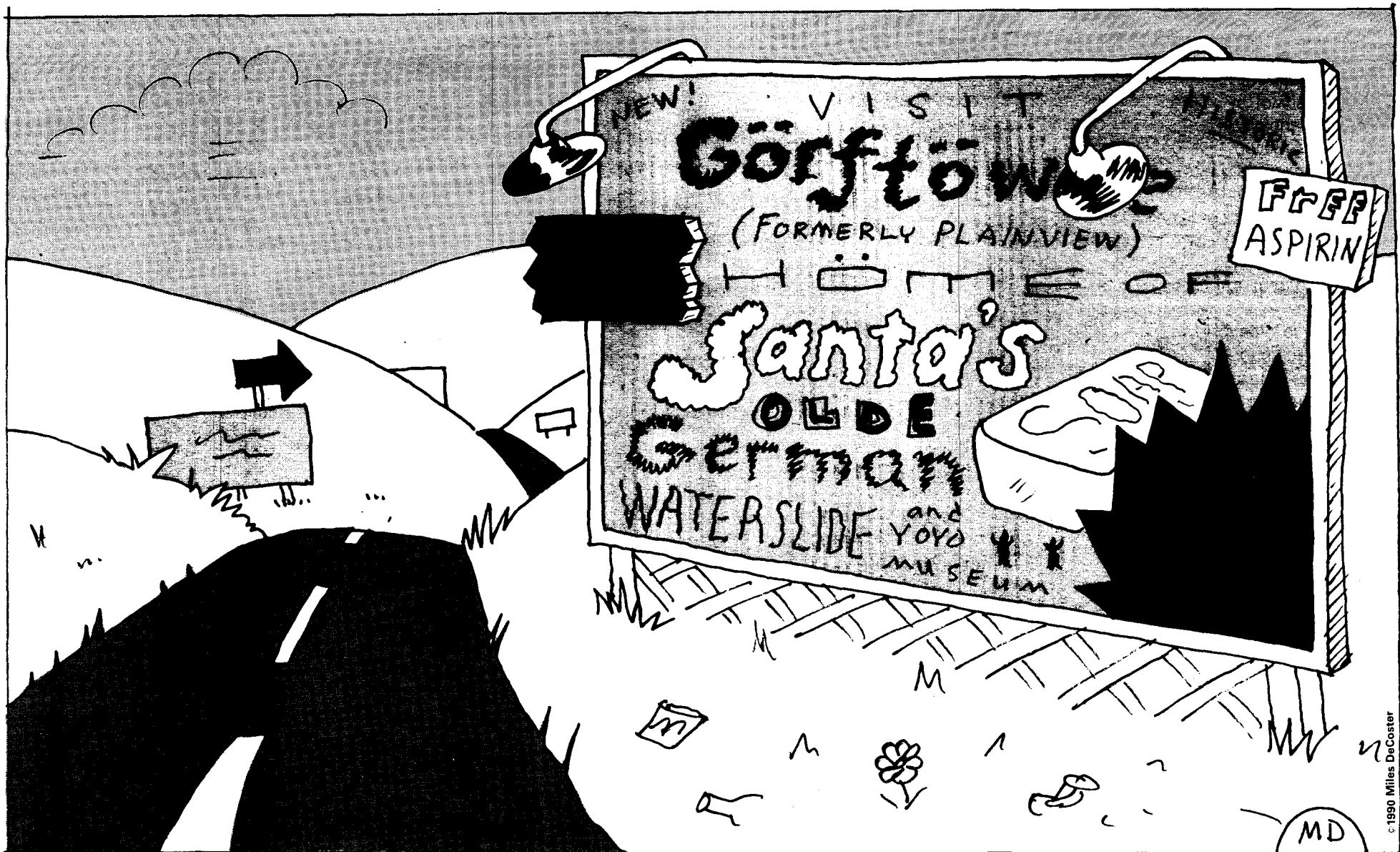
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Recreation & re-creation

By Murray L. Bob

THE NEWS IS OUT: TOURISM IS THE THIRD-largest retail service industry in the U.S., employing 6 million people. Now the rush is on to transform a thousand towns into tourist traps. Nowhere has the notion that tourism can "turn things around" taken firmer hold than in Rural America, where traditional farming, manufacturing and mining industries languish. The miracles once anticipated from industrial parks are now expected from theme parks.

If a town has no real history, one can be invented; if it lacks an indigenous architecture, the false-front industry can create one; if no colorful tribes or troubadours lived there and nothing exciting ever happened, ethnics and/or events can be manufactured out of whole cloth. In the '60s, individuals sought to "find themselves"—to establish their identities. Today whole towns do so in order to make themselves marketable to the tourist trade.

In Washington state, the town of Leavenworth (hardly a name to make the tourist's heart throb with anticipation), population 1,600, turned itself into a "Bavarian village" even though it lacked a German community. How was this indigenous "economic miracle" accomplished? The bars were converted to beer halls, the barkeepers exchanged their trousers for lederhosen and the motels were painted chalet-chic. So even if you can't make it this year to Rothenburg, there's always Leavenworth. (So far has its fame spread that the ultimate prize is now within reach: inquiries have been received from Japan!)

There is even a Swedish theme town—albeit with palm trees—in California.

America once boasted of being the melting pot, but now that there's money in ethnicity, towns are busy investigating and, if necessary, inventing roots. Recalling that the original *Roots* was in part a made-for-television yarn that involved a plagiarism settlement, such fabrication may itself be considered a traditional industry.

It's a jungle in there: Chicopee, Mass., has converted its waterfront into an Amazon jungle, complete in every detail, including howling monkeys and screeching exotic birds. An abandoned electrical plant where toxic wastes were once stored now serves as "jungle" headquarters. Given the fate of the rainforests, Chicopee's asphalt jungle may be a metaphor of the times.

Kemmerer, Wyo., is luring tourists its way. Heretofore known as "home of the nation's largest open coal pit," Kemmerer seeks to capitalize on the little-noted (with good reason, one is tempted to add) fact that it was the site of the original J.C. Penney's. Now the place boasts a J.C. Penney Museum, a J.C. Penney Boardwalk and big plans to restore the seminal store and do over the whole (largely boarded-up) downtown on a J.C. Penney theme. As the city administrator proudly puts it: "People get real excited about J.C. Penney here."

Cynics may say that things can't be too

thrilling in Kemmerer if people can get real excited about J.C. Penney. Still, it probably beats "home of the nation's largest open coal pit" as a tourist attraction. Granted J.C.P. isn't exactly chichi, but what's the alternative? How many more Shakespeare festivals can the country handle—especially considering the acute shortage of trained Elizabethan thespians in Kemmerer, Wyo.?

Not every town looking for tourists turns to themes. Some prefer things—"for the whole family." This doubtless accounts for the increasing number of aquariums under construction. In fact, that was Chicopee's first idea. But the proximity of tanks and tubs in Boston, Baltimore and Mystic, Conn., was discouraging. On the other hand, Chattanooga is fishing for tourist traffic with a new \$30 million freshwater aquarium as bait.

If a city isn't fixated by a vision of wholesome "whole family" fun, sin promises bigger bucks. The steel industry of Gary, Ind., having collapsed, the city fathers plan to build five casino hotels along Lake Michigan, with a projected annual revenue of almost \$1 billion and immediate employment of 25,000.

Building illusions: Things have certainly changed since we acquired a service econ-

omy and supposedly no longer need to sell products, only illusions: the illusion of getting rich quick by betting, of rain forests in Chicopee, of Sweden in California, of cowboys in Bavaria and dollars in aquaria.

One design firm involved in many urban image reconstruction projects, including the one in Chattanooga, is called Cambridge Seven. The firm's founder, Peter Chermayeff, said of the Chattanooga undertaking: It's like changing the city with one building.

One sympathizes with the desire to bring business to a benighted area. And some of the ideas are not in themselves bad—merely tasteless. Whether successful or not, they at least provide some construction jobs and a measure of hope in the near-term. But if the economy takes a dive and people have less to spend, or the cost of travel soars, or exchange rates or weather patterns shift, or new pollution problems emerge, there can be trouble. Tourism is seasonal, cyclical and marginal. It may be a useful part of a town's economic redevelopment, but the notion of "changing a city with one building," or one theme, seems extravagant.

Let us even concede that it may work in a few places. Unfortunately, tourism has become the *standard* prescription of planners, politicians and pundits for what ails many of America's towns and cities. But the idea of solving the structural problems that beset local economies by cloning Disneyland or Vegas is frivolous on its face—especially if all these towns propose to apply approximately the same remedy at approximately the same time. ■

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Suspect futures and prefab pasts mar the American mindscape.